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A

GENERAL HISTORICO-CRITICAL

INTRODUCTION TO THE OLD TESTAMENT.

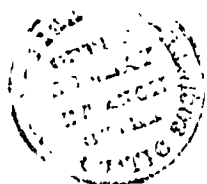
BY H. A. CH. HÄVERNICK,
LATE TEACHER OF THEOLOGY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF KÖNIGSBERG.

111849

TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN

BY

WILLIAM LINDSAY ALEXANDER, D.D.



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TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE.

THE work of which a translation is now presented to the British Public was the mature production of a theologian distinguished by that vast and varied learning which may be regarded as peculiarly characteristic of the modern German divines, and at the same time imbued with that reverence for the Bible as the Word of God, and that lively apprehension of its spiritual truths, which unhappily are too often found wanting in that quarter. "I have undertaken," he says in his preface, "to write this work from that stand-point which, through God's grace, has been showed to me—from the inward and firm conviction that the object of investigation is God's holy word, given to mankind sunk in sin and misery, for the purpose of guiding them in the way of salvation and peace. Whosoever has, through the mercy of the Lord, been led so as to have learned to understand at his hand the word of life, and through this has been not only enlightened, but sanctified and blessed, cannot but feel constrained to utter, according to the calling, and in the measure vouchsafed to him by the Lord, a testimony for the grace which has been displayed even unto him. As it is written, 'I believe therefore I speak,' so the theologian, the servant of the Church of Jesus Christ, knows that it is impossible to construct a theological science which is not founded on the truth—more particularly on the truth as revealed in the Word; and his desire and most zealous endeavour, in keeping with this, is to erect on this basis a living edifice of science, the corner-stone of which shall be that besides which no other can be laid by any man. Such an one knows also that he thus labours not in the service of man, and on a vain and profitless work, but in the service of the Head of the Church, who has placed him as a steward of the mysteries of God, that he may be found faithful in the day of the appearing of Jesus Christ."

Addressing himself to his task in this pious spirit, and bringing to it the resources of a mind trained in theological discipline, and full to overflowing with biblical learning, the author has produced a work which it is confidently believed all competent judges in this country will hail with satisfaction. It is not, indeed, free from defects. The Translator feels himself at liberty to acknowledge that on several points Dr HÄVERNICK has failed to carry conviction to his mind—that his conclusions are not always such as his premises seem to justify, at least to the full extent—that not unfrequently he has fallen under the charge of obscurity and vagueness both of thought and expression—that sometimes his ponderous learning rather encumbers than aids his reasonings—and that now and then he has misapprehended either the point of an opponent's argument, or has tried to turn it aside by what is irrelevant. But after every deduction is made that can be justly made on the score of such deficiencies, the work, he is persuaded, will commend itself to literate theologians as one of the most valuable contributions which Germany has furnished to Biblical criticism and Isagogie.

As respects his own department, the Translator has only to say that he has endeavoured to convey as clearly as he could the meaning of his author in a close rendering of his words. He does not share in the judgment of those who are disposed to demand from the Translator of such a work an entire avoidance of any foreign colouring in his version; for this he considers, after some considerable experience in such matters, as altogether impossible if a faithful transcript of the original is to be placed before the reader. In translating a work of science, the great object must be to preserve not merely the substance of the author's opinions and reasonings, but as much as may be also of the form in which these are conveyed. Where this is not done, and where for the sake of elegance the Translator renders his author only *ad sensum*, there is no small danger of the reader being presented, not with what the original writer really utters, but with the explanation which the Translator *thinks* should be put upon his author's statements. Now, this is to go beyond the province of the Translator, and to intrude into that of the Commentator. Hence, to avoid this has been a guiding principle of the author of this translation, and accordingly he has thought it better sometimes to sacrifice rigid purity of idiom and

phraseology for the higher end of bringing his author's own modes of thought and expression more immediately before the mind of the reader. At the same time he must frankly acknowledge, that to do even this he has not unfrequently found to be a task of no small difficulty. HÄVERNICK is by no means a perspicuous or careful writer; his sentences are often involved and cumbrous, and his language peculiar, sometimes oddly figurative, sometimes almost affectedly philosophical. In a few cases his meaning has, after every effort to catch it, only glimmered doubtfully on the Translator, and in one or two instances the latter has been compelled to render simply *verbum pro verbo*, without at all distinctly understanding what the words so collocated have been intended to mean. He has the less reluctance to make such a confession from observing, that even to HÄVERNICK'S own countrymen the obscurity of his writing formed subject of complaint. "He," says the editor of his posthumous work on the Theology of the Old Testament, Dr H. AUG. HAHN—"He who is acquainted with the books of the now sainted HÄVERNICK knows how his style labours under a certain awkwardness and unwieldiness, which detracts very often from the easy understanding of the connection." Where Germans themselves find difficulty in a German writing, it may be pardoned in a foreigner that he has sometimes perhaps erred in his attempts to render that writing into another language, and sometimes has had to relinquish the effort to catch the exact meaning as hopeless.

The parts of this volume to which the Translator is disposed to attach the principal value are the second and third chapters. He is not aware of any treatise to which the mere English reader has access in which the subjects of the original languages of the Old Testament and the History of the Text are so copiously and learnedly treated. He has only to add, that for the translation of § 41—§ 44 he is indebted to one friend, and for that of § 68—§ 90 to another, whose aid he had to request, that the printing of the work might not be interrupted through certain pressing duties of another kind to which he was obliged to attend. Having, however, carefully revised every part, he holds himself responsible for the whole.

PINKIE BURN, 23d November, 1852.

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GENERAL PREFATORY REMARKS.

§ 1. RELATION OF INTRODUCTION TO THEOLOGY IN GENERAL.

Historical Theology is occupied with the development of the kingdom of God as an object of science—the rise and progress of that remedial institution, in which God's grace to fallen man is revealed and realized. Hence, *materially*, historical theology has to do with the kingdom of God in a twofold respect: 1, as it assumes the character of a *Theocracy*,[1] *i.e.* a divine state under the immediate direction of God, the living and invisible King; and, 2, as it assumes the character of the *βασιλεία τοῦ Θεοῦ*, the community of believers formed through Christ, the body compacted together with him as the head, and regulated by the Holy Ghost. *Formally*, historical theology, as concerned with the investigation of historical truth, has also a twofold aspect: 1. It treats of the facts (or doctrines viewed as facts) as set forth and unfolded in certain documents, and thus becomes sometimes the special detailed analysis of these (*exegetical theology*), sometimes the scientific presentation of events,—history in the stricter sense (and this again in virtue of the principle of material division above stated falls into *History of the Theocracy* and *Church History*), and sometimes the unfolding of the Dogmata, the truths to be believed, of these documents (*biblical theology* and *history of opinions*, of which the former is the introduction to the latter);[2] 2. It takes up the records of the historical truth itself, viewing them as the documents of this, and investigating in a historico-critical manner their nature and quality.

1 According to Josephus, Cont. Apion. ii. 16, *θεοκρατίαν ἀπεῖπεν* (Moses) *τὸ πολίτευμα, θεῷ μᾶλλον μόνῳ τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ τὸ κράτος ἀναθείς.*

2 Baumgarten-Crusius. Bibl. Theol. p. 8.

In this respect historical theology, when occupied with the records of Scripture, is called INTRODUCTION TO THE OLD AND NEW TESTAMENTS.

§ 2. PLACE OF INTRODUCTION IN RELATION TO OTHER DEPARTMENTS OF INQUIRY.

With Introduction more than one department of Ecclesiastico-Historical Science corresponds in consequence of the variety of documents thereto belonging; especially *Patristic* which has to do with the ancient muniments of the Church and their authors, and what used to be called *Symbolic Theology*, or historico-literary introduction to Church confessions, &c. In Church History the importance of specially treating such a department of inquiry has been less felt than in regard to the biblical documents, in consequence of the *dogmatical* interest of the latter. It is not simply as historical witnesses, relating exclusively to a certain time and place, that these are to be regarded, but as the highest norm of man's faith and life, originated supernaturally by God the Holy Ghost, containing divine revelations,—in short, as the WORD OF GOD.

In the same way may another analogous department of investigation, viz., *Literary History*, or the scientific development of what has been accomplished in knowledge and learning by one or more nations, be discriminated from Biblical Introduction. The history of profane literature has in common with that of sacred literature only so much as belongs to the human authorship and style of the latter. But this is subordinated to the divine verity, and is but the organ whereby this is, amid many and varied circumstances and peculiarities, expressed in its own peculiar manner.[1] These two are not to be arbitrarily separated in scientific research, any more than in the concrete they are disunited; the maxim (rightly understood) *πάντα θεῖα καὶ πάντα ἀνθρώπινα* finds here also its application. As consequently Literary History has to do not merely with the writers as individuals, but also with all the circumstances fa-

1 See the excellent remarks of Steudel in the Tübinger theol. Zeits. 1832. Hft. 3, p. 83. ff.

vourable or unfavourable which influenced them, and called out their mental activity; so in Introduction a new element still has to be introduced, viz., the divine agency manifested both in each individual case, and in the collective whole. That such there is, Introduction assumes from Dogmatic,[1] and thus far the latter is the basis of the former. Introduction is a historical elucidation, not simply of the human and outward origin and characteristics of the sacred records, but also of that which makes them sacred books, the operation of the Spirit who indited them, and of the Providence which has watched over their preservation.[2]

Far from regarding this relation of Introduction to doctrinal theology as having a contracting influence upon our science by reducing it as it were to a dishonoured and servile condition, we feel constrained rather to uphold it as the only right and possible mode of investigation. To repudiate the consideration of the biblical records under a religious aspect (which appears in our day to be held forth as the *beau ideal* in this department[3]) would be to announce an *irreligious* treatment of them, and thus in professing to be impartial to embrace a party. This plan would be one-sided, and therefore fallacious, for it would forcibly separate what are closely united, and treat the Bible as "a mere historical phenomenon on the same footing with other similar phenomena;"[4] whereas its divine character as a revelation is part of the historical phenomenon it presents. This theory also relinquishes entirely the *theological* claims of Introduction, and reduces it to a medley of grammatico-historical enquiries, whose higher common reference to theology is ignored.

But Introduction must necessarily be *historical*. Without certain and fixed principles, however, lying at its basis, History is not a science; it is not from a lauded, but practically unattainable impartiality, that historical enquiries have their value, but only from such a conviction as is true, tenable, and suited for affording a basis on which they may rest. But Introduction must also be

1 Hence an inquiry into the Theopneusty of the Scriptures belongs not to Introd., into which it is dragged by Bauer (Einl. p. 45, ff.), Jahn, and others.

2 On this ground we must decline the name Literary History of the Old and New Testament, which Hupfield (Stud. und. Krit. 1830, s. 247) has anew proposed, because it is, to say the least, calculated to lead to misapprehension.

3 See for instance De Wette's Einleit. ins A. T., § 4.

4 De Wette, *loc. cit.*

critical. To separate the true from the false, the genuine from the spurious, the pure from the corrupt, is impossible without a test, without those sound principles which prejudice hinders and arbitrariness destroys.[1] In both respects, consequently, it is Dogmatic, the true dogmatical conviction which, in the highest instance, comes forward as the arbitress, and as the inspiring principle creates in our science a true and higher life.

§ 3. SCIENTIFIC PRINCIPLE OF INTRODUCTION.

Some in recent times have not seldom represented Introduction as a mere aggregate of certain pieces of knowledge, "possessing no true scientific principles, and no necessary bond of connection."[2] In this case it certainly would be wiser to dispense with it altogether, and to consider its different parts under the head of other branches, where each would find its due place. There is, however, a scientific character belonging to this branch of enquiry as truly as to the history of ancient profane literature.

It would be impossible, indeed, for this latter to establish this claim by a mere enumeration of different authors and their works in chronological order. Such an exploit would as little deserve to be called literary history, as mere annals merit to be viewed as the history of a nation. It is only when the literary history of a people is scientifically handled, when its general character, on the one hand, and its special features, according to the separate branches of literary investigation, on the other, are considered, that it can be regarded as entitled to the honour of science. But that such a representation may appear historically true and self-consistent, it must not proceed from the author's peculiar notions, or from any modern theories, but must assume as its standard the inner nature of the writings, and the ground-principles of Antiquity itself. It must find *in itself* the scientific principle and its development.[3]

In the same way Biblical Introduction must be scientifically constructed out of its own proper materials. The documents to be

1 Comp. Kleinert üb. die Aechth. des Jesaias i. p. 88, ff.

2 De Wette, lib. cit. § 1.

3 Comp. Passow's Essay üb. die neuesten Bearbeitung der Griech. Liter. Gesch. in Jahn's Jahrb. für Philologie. 1826, h. i. p. 141, ff.

treated of in it are, as respects their general and historical character, holy books treated as such; the Israelites (to confine ourselves to the Old Testament) had only a holy literature, and such alone is the object of our historico-critical enquiry. As such also it has in point of fact proved itself; for not without reason is it so regarded, inasmuch as it has manifested itself to all who have viewed it in faith as a regenerating and heaven-descended Word.[1] In short, as the records of salvation announce themselves as *canonical*, and as such were always regarded and used, the whole of this literature finds a common centre in the idea of the *Canon* (more strictly the *Scripture-canon*); whereby it transcends all other literature, and is distinguished from it by a value peculiarly its own. From this fundamental character of Scripture, which is not something foreign to it, but something belonging to its peculiar nature, the importance of treating it as a connected whole having reference to its proper end is apparent, and this fixes for us the starting-point of our undertaking.

§ 4. DIVISION OF OLD TESTAMENT INTRODUCTION.

If we set out from the assumption of the canonicity of the Old Testament writings, it follows that these are the purely special object of our investigation, and that the apocryphal and pseudo-epigraphic literature, as it is called, can be connected with this only as an *appendix* to it. The writings composing this are worthy of notice, not on the ground of their being uncanonical literature of the Hebrews, but in so far only as they are imitations of the canonical books, and in this respect are to be regarded partly as the fruit which has sprung immediately from these and been nurtured by them, and partly as an unworthy picture, a caricature of them. The idea of the Canon conducts us to GENERAL INTRODUCTION as our first main division, and to SPECIAL INTRODUCTION as our second. It is best to take the former first, and the latter second,[2] as in this way the principle of the whole is easily unfolded, and a scientific treatment of the subject can be better observed. In

1 Calvin, Institt. lib. i. c. 7.

2 Not the opposite, as recently Schott has done, in his Isagoge in Nov. Testament.

this way the view of the whole is gained which is chiefly of importance.

General Introduction, accordingly, may be best studied in the following order: 1. The origin, determination, division, &c., of the whole collection (Doctrine of the Canon); 2. External form of the Canon, the language in which it is written (Doctrine of the original languages, Linguistic Introduction); 3. The preservation of this entire body of documents, and the state in which it now exists (History of the Text); 4. How has the Canon been understood and interpreted? This question requires a twofold answer, leading to the division into the History of Translations and that of Exegesis, both of which are embraced in the general conception of how the Canon has been treated; 5. The *Theory* framed out of experience in this department, and gathered from historical investigation, as respects, in the first place, the constitution of the text (Criticism); and, 6, the same as respects the explanation of the Canon (Hermeneutics).

§ 5. HISTORY OF OLD TESTAMENT INTRODUCTION.—LITERATURE.

1. PATRISTIC LITERATURE.

In the early ages of Christianity, the minds of the Fathers were much more bent on the fixing and founding of doctrines, and consequently on the contents of Holy Scripture, than on its historical basis and origin—questions for the proper treatment of which they were, indeed, deficient in historical science. On this subject, therefore, we must rest contented with what the Fathers have done in the way of apology under the stimulus supplied by the attacks of the Heathen (such as Celsus and Porphyry), or by the aberrations of the heretics (Manichees, Gnostics). These attacks, however, respected only, so far as the Canon was concerned, certain doctrines, such as, *e. gr.* the relation of the Law to the Gospel, and a few historical particulars, as the judgment of Celsus on Genesis,[1] of Porphyry on Daniel, which, though they called forth the energies

1 Οὐ Μωϋσέως οἴεται εἶναι τὴν γραφὴν ἀλλά τινων πλειόνων. Orig. cont. Cels. v. 42. The proofs were principally of a dogmatical character, viz. the myths in Genesis. See some valuable remarks in Von Cölln's Lehrbuch d. Dogmengeschichte i. 117, ff.

of the Apologists, yet always were repelled in a way which placed the question more on dogmatical than on historical grounds.

For the first work of a more important and comprehensive character in this respect we are indebted to the most distinguished theologian of the Western Church, Augustine (De Doctrina Christiana, libb. iv. Opp. ed. Benedict. vol. iv.). He designates the contents of his work as "praecepta tractandarum scripturarum," so that they are to be regarded as in a sense a system of Hermeneutics. Admirable, and even in the present day useful, for this department of Introduction is his development of the characteristics of a true interpretation of Scripture (lib. i. and ii.); the work is interesting, besides, in consequence of the strictures it contains on Monkery and the tendency to a false asceticism (Prol. § 4—8) on the Donatists, especially Tichonius Afer (lib. iii. 30, ff.),[1] and their perverse handling of Scripture on their own false principles, as *e. gr.* the high value of the LXX. This work has been frequently edited apart (by Calixtus, Helmst. 1655. Teegius, Lips. 1769), and has had its influence, especially at the time of the Reformation; see Luther's writings. Manuals have even been compiled after it as a model; witness the Compendium Doctrinæ Christianæ ex Augustini libris, Ed. Th. Bibliander, Basil, 1550, and the Institutio hermen. ex Aug. libris de Doct. Christ. Conquisita a Breithaupt, Kilon. 1605.[2] Much inferior, both as to substance and extent, is the little tractate of Augustine's learned contemporary, Jerome, entitled Libellus de optimo interpretandi genere (directed principally against Rufinus), ep. 101 ad Pammachium.

Still less can we reckon upon the work of Adrian, apparently a later, but as to his age doubtful, Father of the Church, entitled Εἰσαγωγὴ εἰς τὰς θείας γραφάς,[3] as it belongs rather to the department of grammar and rhetoric. It begins with a comparison of the ἰδιώματα τοῦ Ἑβραικοῦ χαρακτῆρος, which the author divides

1 This person had shortly before Augustine written, "regulae septem ad investigandam et inveniendam intelligentiam sacrarum scripturarum" (Gallandi Bib. Max. Patr. t. vi. p. 49, sqq.), "an odd mixture of slight sketches of a sort of topical theology, and poor formal rules of composition," Nitzsch Sendschr. an Delbrück s. 84.

2 Comp. Rosenmüller Histor. Interp. l. sacr. t. iii. p. 406, sq., and especially Clausen Augustinus Hipp. S. S. interpres. p. 136, sq.

3 Ἀνεγνώσθη Ἀδριανοῦ εἰσαγωγὴ τῆς γραφῆς. Χρήσιμος τοῖς εἰσαγομένοις ἡ βίβλος. Photius. He is also mentioned by Cassiodorus. Probably he is the same who is named by Nilus, Epist. ii. 60, ed Allat., as a monk skilled in exegesis.

into ἰδ. τῆς διανοίας (Anthropomorphisms and Anthropopathisms of Scripture) ἰδ. τῆς λέξεως (peculiar expressions, such as λαλεῖν for ἀποφαίνεσθαι, οὐρανοί for οὐρανός, &c.), and ἰδ. τῆς συνθέσεως (ellipses, metaphors, hyperboles, &c.). After this follows a brief survey of the εἴδη τῆς θείας γραφῆς, in which the historical form is distinguished from the prophetical; the prophetical utterances are divided into λόγοι, ὀπτασίαι, and ἔργα (symbolical acts); and the whole ends with some hermeneutical observations. The first edition (now rare) of this work was that of Höschel (Augustæ Vind. 1602, 4to); afterwards it was printed entire in the Critici Sacri, Tom. vi. p. 10, sq. In the department of Hermeneutics we have the first of the two books Instructionum ad Salonium filium (Bibl. p. 839, sq.) issued by Eucherius, Bishop of Lyons, a work which belongs to the fifth century. Of more importance is the treatise of the African bishop Junilius in the sixth century, entitled, Libri ii. de partibus legis divinæ (Bibl. Patt. max. xii., p. 77 sq.; also published separately, Basil 1545, 8vo., Francof. ad Oder. 1603, 8vo), dedicated to Primasius, the illustrious disciple of Augustin. There is in it an attempt at theory (he discriminates, *e. gr.*, dictio historica, prophetica proverbialis, simpliciter docens); there is perceptible, also, an effort to promote a more methodical apprehension of Scripture,—these rules having been given by him to his disciples, "ut ipsarum caussarum quae in divina lege versantur, intentionem et ordinem cognoscerent, ne sparsim et turbulente sed *regulariter* singula discerent" (*Præfat.*) But the want of independence and completeness characteristic of the author's time appears from this, that by his own confession he attached himself entirely to Paulus, a scion of the Syrian school at Nisibis, and is to him especially indebted for his work (see von Lengerke de Ephraim. Syr. arte hermeneutica), which makes us regret that no theoretical works of the kind belonging to the East are now extant for us. His views also of the Canon were erroneous; and he passes, even in the first book, into a sort of Biblical dogmatics, with which in the second he is wholly occupied.

As the irruption of the barbarians into the Roman empire, along with the ever-increasing number of monks and ascetics and the internal corruption of the Church, tended ever more and more to impose a restraint on theology and to stifle an interest for science, it was natural that the branch of theology now before us should find

hardly any cultivators. All the more does it become us to acknowledge the services in this department of Cassiodorus the Benedictine (died about A.D. 562), who was the first to give a bias to his order in the direction of science and learning.[1] He wrote Libb. ii. de Institutione divinarum Scripturarum.[2] Notwithstanding many faults, as *e. gr.* in his views of the Canon, for which his dependence on earlier authorities was chiefly to blame, his work has still much value in a literary point of view. His catalogue of biblical commentators, especially Latin, is important. He refers to the helps for the understanding of Scripture, urges the use of *litterarum saecularium studia*, and gives valuable directions to the monks for the copying of the codices of the Bible. During the middle ages his work remained the only one of value for the science of Introduction; for, though others followed it (such as the Prolegomena of Isidorus Hispalensis) they did not equal it; least of all the Prolegomena, compiled exclusively from what preceded them in the scholastic theology.

§ 2. TIME OF THE REFORMATION AND OF ORTHODOXY.

The time of the Reformation, like that of primitive Christianity, was marked by a strong dogmatical bias, before which even exegesis succumbed, and this explains the otherwise singular fact that we are indebted for the first work [in our deparment] at this time to a Catholic. Francis Sixtus of Siena (Sixtus Sinensis) wrote a Bibliotheca sacra ex praecipuis Cathol. ecclesiæ auctoribus collecta, in which he chiefly treats of the authors of the sacred books, the ancient translators, and interpreters. In respect to the last he is especially copious and learned. He is more free from the prejudices of his church than the majority of those Catholic theologians who succeeded him (in his views, for instance, on the Canon, the interpretations of the Fathers, &c.)[3]

1 See concerning him Stäudlin in the Kirchenhist. Archiv. 1825, § 259 ff., and § 381 ff.

2 He himself describes them in the preface as Introductorii libri, and in fact they are fuller than any which preceded them, and so approximate the nearest to the idea of an Introduction.

3 The first edition appeared at Venice 1566, 2 vol. fol. The latest, (Neapol. 1742), is dedicated to Pope Benedict XIV., who was noted for his scientific freedom of thought. The judgment upon the work by Simon, Hist. Crit. de l' A. T. lib. vii. c. 17, is interesting.

But the impulse given in the Protestant Church to the study of Scripture had been too strong, and had already yielded too much good fruit not to draw to the exegetico-historical branch of theology the zeal of its theologians. Hence appeared Walton's admirable Prolegomena to his edition of the Polyglott (London 1657); since republished separately at Zurich 1723, and cum "prefatione Dathii," Leips. 1777 [and by Wrangham, "qui Dathianis et variorum Notis suas immiscuit," 2 vols. 8vo., Cantab. 1828]), in which the ancient versions and the linguistic department are discussed with especial care. Somewhat earlier the first contribution to Introduction in the Lutheran Church was made by Walther, whose Officina Biblica, 4to., was published at Leipzig in 1636, and soon became the general manual.

Once entered on this field the Reformed Theologians cultivated it with untiring assiduity. Even now the works of a Hottinger (Thesaurus Philologicus sive Clavis S. S.), a Leusden (Philologus Hebraeus), a Heidegger (Enchiridion Biblicum), &c., are, for their genuine classical learning, their earnest spirit of inquiry, and their effort after a complete method of study, much more valuable than people often think. Certain portions of General Introduction, such as the history of the Text, were by these theologians of the seventeenth century cultivated with the happiest results.[1]

§ 3. CONFLICT OF ORTHODOXY WITH HETERODOXY.

Towards the end of the seventeenth century, the peaceful progress of our science on the basis of a common belief in revelation was disturbed, and a polemical direction given to it through the rise of unsound philosophical systems, and their influence upon theology. The first examples of any importance were set by Hobbes in his Leviathan (Amsterdam, 1670), and Spinoza in his Tractatus Theologico-Politicus, a work which, as is well known, appeared under various titles in order the better to conceal its author and intent. Both of these books set out from anything but a critico-scientific stand-point; they build on certain pre-assumed

[1] This has been well acknowledged recently by Hupfeld, who vigorously rebukes the retrogressive movement of modern scholarship as compared with the onward tendency of our Fathers. See Theolog. Studien und Kritiken 1830, s. 248, ff.

dogmatical opinions, and treat the subject entirely in relation to them. Hobbes after, in the section "De civitate Christiana," cap. 32, ff., having laid down principles to the effect that "sensibus, experientiae et (*quod verbum Dei indubitatum est*) *rectae rationi* renuntiandum non est" proceeds in cap. 33 to treat "de numero, antiquitate, scopo, auctoritate et interpretatione libr. sacr." The superficial discussion in this chapter is devoted principally to cavils against the genuineness and antiquity of certain of the Old Testament books. So also Spinoza, who was more proficient in knowledge of languages, occupies himself, cap. 1—7, with purely dogmatical questions of a preliminary kind (such as the denial of inspiration), and then advances, in cap. 8—10, to a special criticism of the Old Testament, which is devoted to the casting of suspicion on the books individually, and as a whole. On the same dogmatical method, the English and French freethinkers proceed; only that their scepticism is of a more practical character, and they use scoffing as their principal weapon. In a scientific point of view they are not worthy of further notice.[1] The way was thus prepared for the appearance of Richard Simon's Histoire critique de l'ancien Test (first ed. Paris 1678; in Latin, Amsterdam, 1681) in which the Old Testament Introduction was treated as a separate branch of inquiry, and in a manner which, scientifically considered, placed the subject on a much higher elevation than any of the above-named books. This work was prohibited in France (from reasons, in fact, very trifling), and Catholics as well as Protestants wrote against it.[2] With all its critical acumen and learning (though the latter has often been over-estimated and judged of without sufficient regard to the claims of his predecessors), as well as many clear glimpses on individual points, its hypotheses often verging upon the bizarre, and its frequently indescribable insincerity,[3] are not to be forgotten.

If in the replies to Simon, there was much that was weak, especially where, as in the case of the Sentimens de quelques theologiens de Hollande sur l'histoire critique du V. T. comp. par R. S.,

1 See their works in Baumgarten's Gesch. d. Relig. Partheien, edited by Semler, s. 72, ff., and s. 129, ff.

2 See Rosenmuller's Handbuch d. Liter. d. Bibl. Krit. und Exegese. Th. i. s. 115, ff.

3 As when he accuses Spinoza of imperitia vel magis *improbitas* for his cavils against the Pentateuch, whilst he himself adduces fundamentally the same opinion (Praef.).

Amst. 1685 (written by Le Clerc), this arose from an accordance with his principles; the Protestant Church had nevertheless strength enough in it to combat these errors with the weapons of a believing theology. Of this the appearance of Carpzov's Introductio ad libros canon. V. T. (Lips. 1721; 3d edit. 1741) is an excellent evidence. From his preface it is manifest how fully he had comprehended what an Introduction should be in relation to his own times especially. He proposes to treat chiefly of the following: "ea quae circa asserendam Scripturae sacrae auctoritatem eamque a μισοβιβλων et Pseudo-criticorum strophis vindicandum, tum circa librorum sacrorum appellationes varias, Scriptores, argumenta, scopum, chronologiam et partitionem tenenda Theologiae consentanea essent." He accordingly devotes peculiar attention to the subject of special Introduction, and in this respect he was the first to determine fully and accurately the object of Introduction (Praef. ad p. 3). He handles admirably the polemical and apologetical department (against Spinoza, Simon, &c.), and much is advanced by him long ago which an ungrateful posterity has in its selfish zeal ignored. In many cases, however, this masterpiece of Protestant science has been *tacitly* used; but it was soon given over to oblivion, from which it is high time at length that it should be rescued.[1]

§ 4. PERIOD OF THE NEOLOGIAN CRITICISM.

Occupied chiefly with the historical department of theology, and directing from this side his cavils against Christian truth, J. S. Semler made also some attempts in the science of Old Testament Introduction. He was called forth principally by R. Simon (Lebensbeschr. ii. s. 120), and contributed not a little to his becoming known in Germany. In union with Oeder and the talented Swiss Corrodi, he endeavoured most of all to undermine the old views of

1 Semler spoke disrespectfully of Carpzov (Lebensbeschr. ii. 138). De Wette places him under the head "Geist der Unkritik!" [spirit of uncriticality]. By the side of Carpzov's work, especially in respect of the points above specified, may be placed Heidegger's Exercitationes biblicae, the first vol. of which is devoted to the Old Testament; its thorough solidity excited the liveliest hopes in regard to its promised successor, Pharos Biblica, s. Introductio Generalis ad Script. V. et N. T., but the author died before this was prepared.

the canon and the canonicity of the separate books. These men gave criticism a purely negative and destructive tendency, with the sufficiently clearly avowed design to overthrow the ancient dogma of inspiration and supersede Scripture as the supreme rule of Christian faith and life.[1] In fact, however, Semler met with vigorous and decided opposition.[2] Out of such a fermentation it could not be expected that a proper and complete Introduction should arise. The somewhat strange hypothesis must already have made the necessity of a revision and reorganization sensibly felt. At that time the enjoyment of the divine word was in every way impeded by withered and sapless discourses.

To inspire a generation thus poverty-stricken and sunk in materialism with a desire for a more poetic treatment of the Old Testament was the end to which a Herder directed his whole powerful eloquence. His energetic censures could not but (to use the words of Goethe) "tear in pieces the curtains which concealed the poverty of German literature," but it was only to call forth a new extreme. "Taste" was the watchword of the new school. Proceeding from it and characteristic of it is Eichhorn's Einleitung ins A. T. In an aesthetical point of view the new system of treatment was unquestionably more satisfactory, and the enthusiastic applause which that work found attests how much this system was adapted to the spirit of the time. Its effect, however, was to cause an entire neglecting of Scripture as such. Biblical Introduction became a branch of profane literary history. The "national literature of the Hebrews" was the object of investigation; the Christian and genuinely theological interest was dismissed out of the science. Thence arose also that inconsequent scientific treatment, the result of subjective taste-judgments [Geschmacksurtheile] with which the consistent rationalism of the present day can hardly be satisfied, but in which the author up to his latest edition (the fourth, 1823-24), exhibited a marvellous constancy. On the whole, however, the subject underwent here earnest, thorough, and really scientific investigation, particularly in comparison with the older theologians.

1 The writings of Semler belonging to this department are his Apparatus ad liberal. V. Ti. interpretationem, and his Abhand. von freier Untersuchung des Kanon, 4 Theile.

2 Comp. the Analysis of the writings connected herewith in Walch's Neuester Religionsgeschichte Th. vii. § 243, ff.

After Eichhorn had been reproduced and excerpted more or less closely in several compendia (such as by Von Gute, Halle 1787, 8vo; Babor, Wien 1794; G. L. Bauer, Nürnberg 1794, 3d ed., 1806), there appeared Augusti's Grundriss einer historisch-kritischen Einleitung ins A. T., Leipzig 1806, 2nd ed. 1827, with some interesting notices, but far from complete, and composed under the influence of the consequent Rationalism (of a Vater, De Wette, &c.) In Bertholdt's Einleitung (6 parts; Erlangen 1812–19), the existing rationalist views are found collected in all their completeness; the composition is popular, often diffuse; the arrangement of the whole is very inconvenient and unsuitable; the new ideas are few; and not unfrequently there is a want of critical acumen. De Wette issued a compendium, of which the first edition appeared in 1817, the fourth in 1833 [and the fifth in 1840.] It is recommended by its exactness, and the dexterous selection of subjects handled, as well as the excellent arrangement and distribution of the whole. But it is well known that in it the rationalistic scepsis, hypercrisis, and arbitrariness appear in their utmost extent.

In opposition to these attempts, which were executed in a spirit of hostile opposition to the divine claims of Scripture, there appeared persons who, in place of overturning, sought to build up, and who laboured to vindicate the ancient authority of history against the assaults of a one-sided negative criticism, and to defend in accordance with science the much-assailed honour of holy Scripture. In learning and depth, J. D. Michaelis was just the man to encounter Eichhorn on this field; but he was inferior to the latter in taste and culture, and he wanted a living penetrating sense of the inner truths of Scripture. Moreover, no more than the first volume of his Introduction appeared, discussing only Job and the Pentateuch (Hamb., 1784, in 4to.) Jahn's otherwise valuable work[1] is marred by accommodation, and too great a leaning to the prevailing notions; besides, it is partially under the domineering influence of the Catholic Church doctrine. A higher place is in many respects due to Pareau's Institutio interpretis, Vet. Ti., Traj. ad Rhen., 1822., 8vo. [translated into English by Patrick Forbes, D.D., and forming vols. viii. and xxv. of the Biblical Cabinet.

1 Einleit. in d. göttl. Bücher des A. B., 2te Aufl. Wien, 1802. 2 Thle. Abridged in Latin (Wien, 1825, ed. 2). Comp. Ackermann Introductio in libr. V. Foed. Vienn. 1826. 8vo.

Edinb. 1835 and 1840], which, though professedly a treatise on Hermeneutics, discusses many subjects which belong to Introduction. But the commencement of a new handling of our subject has been especially made in the Beiträge z. Einleitung ins A. T., of Dr Hengstenberg, first vol. Berlin, 1831 [2d Berl., 1836; 3d Berl., 1839—translated into English by the Rev. B. P. Pratten and J. E. Ryland, 3 vols.], in which a tendency, such as a criticism, penetrated by a truly Christian spirit, must take, shows itself in relation to two of the books of Scripture, Daniel and Zechariah [to which must now be added the Pentateuch].

The contributions of the English to this department are insignificant. Horne's Introduction to the critical study of the Holy Scriptures, London [9th edit. 1846, four vols.], is rather a compilation than an original scientific work.[1] Still less important in a scientific point of view is the Introduction à la lecture des livres Saints, vol. i., Ancien Testament of Cellérier, Genève et Paris, 1832, 8vo (see my critique on it in the Mélanges de Théologie réformée. Genève, 1833, Ier cah. p. 94, seq.)

1 [In the absence of more copious works in English, the treatise of Moses Stuart on the Canon of the Old Testament deserves to be noticed. A new addition of it by Dr S. Davidson, and another by the Rev. Mr Lorimer, have recently appeared. The valuable Cyclopædia of Biblical Literature, edited by Dr Kitto, 2 vols., l. 8vo., Edinb., 1845, deserves also to be mentioned.]

CHAPTER FIRST.

HISTORY OF THE CANON.[1]

§ 6. ORIGIN AND FIRST FORMATION OF A COLLECTION OF THE OLD TESTAMENT BOOKS.

In remote antiquity the interests of religion and science were closely associated, and hence the literature of the Oriental nations was especially holy,—it was intimately connected with religion and worship. The writers of sacred books were the priests, who also presided over the domain of science, and whose duty it was to preserve these books for their people, and carefully to watch over them; a relation which continued until it was materially altered by the introduction of new and foreign elements, and by a larger culture, which set aside the simple order of Nature, and split the life which formerly had been concentrated into one of manifold variety. In the ancient priesthood of Egypt and Babylon, we find sacred writers, the ἱερογραμματεῖς (who were also called νοήμονες, πτεροφόροι.)[2] In Greece, also, the ancient usage of the East in this respect was retained; for in its priestly class there were γραμματεῖς ἱεροὶ (Ælian, Hist. Anim. xi. 10) and ἱερομνήμονες (Aristot. Pol. vi. 8; Demosth. pro coron. c. 27; Hesychius and Harpocrates sub. voc.). Even in Rome the most ancient lite-

1 Comp. the author's Histoire du Canon de l' Anc. Test. in the Mélanges de Theologie, Réf. cah. 2.

2 See for Egypt Jablonsky, Pantheon Aegypt. Prolegg. p. 94, sq., Creuzer Symbolik Th. i. s. 245; for Babylon Hävernick's Comment. üb. Daniel s. 52, ff.

rature was sacred, and the priests were the authors of the oldest songs and annals.[1]

In this way the temples or holy places become the depositories of this literature; in them we find the oldest archives of a nation. The far-travelled Strabo calls the temples on this account expressly *πινακοθῆκαι*.[2] When Sanchoniathon, the Phœnician priest, wrote the history of his nation, he drew his materials chiefly from these sacred archives (*τῶν ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς ἀναγραφῶν*, Euseb. Praep. Evang. i. 9.). In like manner the kings of Sparta, who united in their own persons also the priestly honours and functions (Aristot. vol. iii. 9; K. O. Müller's Dorier, ii. s. 90), preserved the prophecies of the State.[3] In Athens the *χρησμοὶ*[4] and *διαθῆκαι (pacta) ἀπόῤῥητοι, ἐν οἷς σωτήρια τῆς πόλεως κεῖται*,[5] were kept in the Akropolis, in order that they might be secure against any falsification. When Heraclitus had finished his philosophical work on nature, he placed it in the sanctuary of Artemis at Ephesus, that it might be kept from the eyes of the profane (Diog. Laert. ix. 6.). In the same way the Romans preserved their *Libri fulgurales* in the Temple of Apollo (Servius ad Virg. Æneid. vi. 72); the *Libri lintei* in that of Juno Moneta (Liv. iv. 8; ix. 18); and the Sibylline books, the keeper of which was also a priest of Apollo, in the Capitol (Onuphrius Panvin. de Sib. et carmin. Sib. p. 309; Niebuhr Rom. Gesch. i. 526, ff.)

What we thus find to have been a general custom of antiquity we should expect especially to have existed among the Hebrews, whose Temple was the centre-point of the entire religious and spiritual life of the people, and whose literature was exclusively sacred, and designed for the service of God; and that such was the case the oldest historical documents of the people positively assert. According to the Pentateuch these were committed into the hands of the priests (Deuteron. xvii. 18; xxxi. 9); and from Deut. xxxi. 26 we still further learn that there was a *side of the Ark of the*

1 Hence these priests were also called by the Greeks *ἱερομνήμονες*, comp. Niebuhr· Röm. Gesch. i. s. 247, ff. 2te Ausg. Bähr, Gesch. d. Röm. Liter. s. 33, s. 250, ff.

2 Lib. xiv. p. 734 ed. Xyland. On the word see the commentators on Plin. Hist. Nat. 35, 2, and Kreuser, Vorfragen üb. Homeros i. 312, ff.

3 *Τὰς δὲ μαντήιας τὰς γινομένας τούτους φυλάσσειν.* Herodot. vi. 57.

4 See Herodot. v. 90 (de. c. 93) and Wesseling's note: *Χρησμοὶ in Atticae arcis sacrario* recte componuntur cum Romanorum libris in cella Capitolii, gemella arte excogitatis·

5 So Dinarchus Orat. cont. Demosth. 91. 20; comp. Lobeck Aglaophamus i. p. 965.

Covenant in which they were placed. As far as our present object is concerned, it is quite immaterial whether by the words סֵפֶר הַתּוֹרָה הַזֶּה we understand the whole Pentateuch, or, with later interpreters (*e. g.* Vater, Comment. iii. s. 562, ff.), only a part of it; for in the latter case we should be justly entitled to infer by analogy that the *whole* book was so kept, since there is no reason why a fragment of Deuteronomy alone should have such a place assigned to it. But the passage leads us further. The word סֵפֶר of itself (as distinguished from מְגִלָּה a *section* or *part*) denotes a whole, something bound together with that intent; and hence the passage is to be classed with those which speak of the Pentateuch, according to a usage which came gradually to be established, under the definite appellation of הַסֵּפֶר (Exod. xvii. 14, xxiv. 7; Deut. xxviii. 58—61; comp. Jahn Einleit ii. s. 21, ff.). Here, then, we have intimation of the earliest *collection* of holy books, and of their especial *conservation*. In the words (Deut. xxxi. 26) "and this shall be for a witness against thee," we have an announcement deeply rooted in the essence of the Theocracy, and what in this respect constituted its peculiarity. It was requisite that the Law, the most sublime expression of the Divine righteousness, should be placed where God's presence and glory were especially manifested, there to witness before his throne against the sins of the people, where at the same time his mercy was proclaimed.

What was thus appointed by Moses, and was evidently so closely connected with the purpose of God that his chosen people should be always in possession of his word, was not likely to be soon forgotten, especially under one so full of living zeal for the Theocracy as Joshua. Following the example of Moses, Joshua wrote down in the Book of the Law of the Lord the History which bears his name;[1] and this evidently refers to the passage in Deuteronomy, and hence must be understood as intimating that this document also found a place in the side of the Ark of the Covenant. The act of copying here referred to is mentioned in immediate connection with the raising of a stone by the sanctuary (Josh. xxiv. 26); the design of which was the same as that of the Law, and had the

1 In how far the words הַדְּבָרִים הָאֵלֶּה refer to the book of Joshua will be shown in the special Introduction.

same symbolical import as a witness against the people. As the laying of the written document in the temple was already understood, its purport is not explained; only the symbolical signification of the new act here combined with it is stated. The remark of Le Clerc on this passage is perfectly just: "facile fuit volumini Mosaico quod depositum erat ad latus arcae (Deut. xxxi. 24, 26), adglutinare membranam, in qua haec scriberentur."

In later times also we find traces of the observance of this same custom. Thus Samuel wrote "the law of the kingdom" (מִשְׁפַּט הַמְּלוּכָה) *in the Book* (בַּסֵּפֶר) and laid it up before Jehovah (1 Sam. x. 25). The expression הַסֵּפֶר here plainly intimates that it is of some particular well-known book that the affirmation is made, to which the documents of Samuel were appended so as to enlarge it. Here also the occasion was analogous to that in the case of the Pentateuch; for these documents were to serve as witnesses of the veracity of Samuel, and of what he had told the people respecting the choice of a king. That the Pentateuch at least was in later times preserved in the same place appears from that part of the history of Josiah where we are told that the Book of the Law was found in the temple (2 Kings xxii. 8); for though it is not stated in what part of the temple it was found, yet this may be gathered sufficiently from the consideration that had any other place been intended than that which the Law itself had made sufficiently known it would have been mentioned.[1] In fine we have to notice here the passage in Is. xxxiv. 16, where we read of a סֵפֶר יְהוָה. Gesenius remarks here (Comment. I. s. 921) "the poet seems to contemplate the placing of his oracle in a collection of oracles and holy writings from which posterity might judge of the correctness of his prediction." In this case the expression must relate to prophecies delivered at another time, and such, referring to the object of the prophet, viz. the destruction of Edom, were to be found already in the Pentateuch. It accords well, also, with Isaiah's habit

1 Nothing but the unexampled arbitrariness of the neologian criticism could maintain in the face of the most decisive testimony of so many closely connected passages that "previous to the exile the sacred books of the Israelites were not kept in the temple," or that "the Pentateuch was *not* deposited in the temple but in the *consecrated* (sic!) dwelling of the High Priest," as Hartmann asserts (üb. d. Pentat. s. 569). What must be the fate of Israelitish history so long as people fettered by such prejudices mishandle it?

of referring to the exact coincidence of other prophecies in support of his own (xlii. 9, xlv. 19, xlvi. 10, xlviii. 5, 6.) The mode however, in which this Book of Jehovah is introduced as one well known, and which the people are exhorted to search (דִּרְשׁוּ, cf. ἐρευνᾶν τὰς γραφάς, John v. 59), as well as the general appellation, "Book of Jehovah," Jehovah's revelations, can be satisfactorily explained only on the supposition that the reference here is to a publicly known collection of the Scriptures, so that this passage may be justly combined with the preceding.

The only passage which can with any show of reason be adduced as opposed to facts so well ascertained and so well supported by the analogy of all antiquity is 1 Kings viii. 9; comp. 2 Chron. v. 10. (De Wette, Einl., s. 18.) But how strangely our critics have acted here is apparent from the circumstance that De Wette makes no reference to the passage in Chronicles, though word for word the same as that in Kings; and why so? Because this would have upset his hypothesis, for, according to him, the time when the Chronicles were composed and the Levitical spirit with which they are imbued, would have prevented the occurrence of any such discrepancy (between them, to wit, and the Pentateuch.) But wherein lies the alleged discrepancy? In Kings we read that *in* the Ark of the Covenant (בָּאָרוֹן) nothing was found but the Decalogue; according to Deut. xxxi. 26 the whole Thorah was placed in *the side* of the Ark (מִצַּד אֲרוֹן.) The harmony of these two statements must appear to every sound judgment, and Josephus has already (Antiq. viii. 2) rightly explained the passage thus. Comp. also the passage Heb. ix. 4, where whatever other difficulties may attach to it, it is plain that the writer speaks only of the πλάκες τῆς διαθήκης as being in the Ark of the Covenant.

The opinion that the whole Pentateuch was kept *in* the Ark is to be traced to the superstition of the Rabbins[1] and to the ignorance of those Christian Fathers who followed them.[2] Perhaps they

1 See the Diss. de arca fœderis of the younger Buxtorf in his Exercitatt. ad histor., &c., p. 64 sq. These Rabbins translated the term מִצַּד, "on the inner side of the Ark," contrary to all grammatical rule, see *e. gr.* 1 Sam. vi. 8. Comp. also Kennicott Dissert. II. super rationem textus Hebr. V. T., p. 289 sq.

2 Comp. Epiphan. de ponder. et mensur. c. 4 (the text of this will be found corrected in Eichhorn's Einleit. I. § 3); Joan. Damascen. de orthod. fid. iv. 18 (ἔκειτο ἐν τῇ κιβωτῷ.) Hence arose mention even of archives belonging to the temple (archivis

hoped by this to increase the reputation of the Pentateuch or that of the Ark.[1] Most probably the fiction had its rise in the practice of the modern Jews, who are in the habit of preserving in their synagogues a copy of the sacred books, which is placed in a box resembling the Ark of the Covenant (Vitringa Archisynagogus, p. 169, sq.) Similar fictions have been repeated with respect to some apocryphal books, as, *e. gr.*, the history of Joseph the Carpenter, in the prologue to which it is said that it is to be deposited in the temple at Jerusalem. (See Thilo, Cod. Apoc. N. T. i. p. 4.)

§ 7. CIRCUMSTANCES CONDUCIVE TO THE CLOSING OF THE CANON.

So long as the Theocracy remained firm and unassailed by any storms threatening its ruin, the beginning of such a collection of holy writings would be sufficient, especially whilst it was in the keeping of the prophets. As these were specially and peculiarly the watchmen of Sion, called and chosen of God to guard the Theocracy and to preserve the honour of Jehovah against all impure, sinful, and idolatrous influences, how could they more faithfully fulfil their duty than by carefully discriminating all that was truly holy from all that was mixed with human frailty and defilement? and of course, as part of this, the divinely inspired writings from such as were the product of mere human wisdom? Moreover, so long as the Holy Place remained, there was in it a special security for the writings placed within it.[2] For it contained no objects but such as were consecrated to God. Jehovah himself was enthroned there in glorious majesty between the Cherubim, and no man dare touch or even behold the holy things on pain of death (Num. iv. 15, ff.; 2 Sam. vi. 6), for the wrath of God would kindle on any who attempted to defile them. Hence Abarbanel on Deut. xxxi. 26 remarks very justly: "God deposited there the Book of the

templi). Augustin. de Mirabil. ss. II. 33 (a spurious writing not older than the seventh century. See the third volume of the Benedictine edition.)

1 As is the case in the Mohammedan Sagas; see the interpreters of the Koran in Maracci Snr. 2. 249.

2 Jahn (Einl. I. 56) says with justice on this point: "These men of God would not have allowed falsifications of the sacred books to pass unnoticed, by whomsoever the attempt might have been made," though we cannot assent to what follows, in which he says: "As not a word is let drop by any of them to this effect, we infer that at this time no such attempt was ever made."

Law, to remain there as a true and abiding witness, and that *no one might have the power of falsifying or disfiguring it.* None could injure writings deposited among the genealogies and with the priests."

At the time of the return from the exile, new relations rendered a new mode of conservation necessary. Of these the more weighty are the following: 1. The sanctuary no longer afforded a place for the writings which hitherto had been preserved there. Both Josephus and the Mishna attest that after the destruction of the first temple the Ark of the Covenant disappeared for ever.[1] According to Josephus the Holy of Holies was empty: ἔκειτο δὲ οὐδὲν ὅλως ἐν ἀυτῷ (De Bell. Jud. VI. 6.) With this passage must be combined those in which Josephus speaks of the ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ ἀνακειμένη γραφή (Antiq. iii. 1) and τῶν ἀνακειμένων ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ γραμμάτων (ibid. 5, 1), as it shows that in them Josephus cannot be speaking of the Holy of Holies. Comp. also De Bell. Jud. VII. 5. It is also highly probable that after the restoration of the temple the sacred writings were kept not so much for the sake of their careful preservation as for use that they might be read; and with this the representation of the Talmud closely agrees (comp. Reland, Antiq. Sac. p. 47.) At all events, after the restoration there was not the same kind of guarantee for the preservation of these writings as we know to have existed during earlier times; for this security depended entirely on the constitution of the temple and the manifestation in it of Jehovah—a relation which was quite changed after the exile (Carpzov, Apparat. Hist. Crit. p. 297 sq.)

2. A necessity must then also have arisen for the formation of a collection of those divinely-inspired books which were not preserved in the temple. The greater the number of such isolated writings, the more urgent the need for collecting and preserving them. Had such documents remained in the hands of private individuals, the consequence of any διασπορά of the nation must have been the interpolation or loss of them, unless care had been taken at an early period to fix exactly their number and the text of each.

3. Besides the writings laid up in the Most Holy Place, and those which, though not thus preserved, yet were composed by

1 Comp. the Tr. Joma, ed. Sheringham, p. 102 sqq., also Winer, Reallex. I. 238, 2te Aufl.

men endowed with extraordinary gifts of the Spirit of God, there were others, of great value in a historical respect, which it was important to preserve, at least in part, and after they had undergone a careful revision, for the purpose of placing all their contents in a just theocratical light, so that there might be displayed throughout the Power, the Righteousness, and the Gracious Faithfulness of Jehovah. Thus there was a *Book of the Pious* [" Book of Jasher," Eng. Auth. Vers.], or collection of lyrics composed on men who had especially served the Theocracy, or sustained in it a position altogether of peculiar importance (Josh. x. 13 ; 2 Sam. i. 18) ; and the reading of which must have been useful for all, even though the whole might not be communicated to them as a part of the Canon. We find also that, according to a genuine Oriental custom (comp. Jos. cont. Ap. i. 6, 10 ; Diodor. Sic. ii. 32), the Kings had annalists of their reign (תַּזְכִּירִים), who, without being in every case prophets, narrated in chronological order the events which occurred (comp. 1 Kings iv. 3 ; 2 Kings xviii. 18, 37 ; 2 Chron. xxxiv. 8 ; Winer Reallex, s. 484, 2te Ausg.). Now, such a history, if it was to be a certain and instructive testimony for posterity, required to be brought into a state of unity, not so as to be conformed to some arbitrary plan, but so as to be adapted to the manifestation of God's will, and which, referring everything to Jehovah, should thus place the history of God's people in the only just light. At the time especially when, for a long period, the people of the Covenant had lost their external existence as God's people, the necessity of this must have been peculiarly felt, and thus the thought of collecting the sacred books and constituting a Canon would arise even spontaneously in the minds of the people.[1]— Moreover, in this respect the Lawgiver had already set them an example which they would feel bound to follow faithfully. Even during their passage through the wilderness notes were taken of the wars in which at that time they engaged, and these were denominated " the Book of the Wars of Jehovah ;" nor was this the work of Moses, but of others his attendants. To it, however, a place could not be assigned beside the Pentateuch, for in point of

1 In this way alone can we estimate aright the much-debated question respecting the *Libri deperditi* of the Old Testament, on which much that is irrelevant has been said; see Hottinger, Thes. p. 539, sq.

divine authority it did not occupy the same rank; only Moses might use it, by making *extracts* from it, and these alone would come to be valuable in a truly theocratic point of view.[1]

4. In addition to this, the change of language which had taken place during the exile would have its effect; the common people at least having exchanged the Hebrew for the Aramäic (see more on this below, ch. ii.). Hence by the mass of the nation the original Scriptures were no longer understood, still it was of importance to them that these should be preserved entire and uncorrupted, and for this a more exact determination of the Canon was indispensable. These books had now to be translated for the people (see ch. iv.) and this rendered a fixing of the Canon necessary; for only thus could a proper security be obtained for the genuineness of the writings which, under a new guise, were in this way circulated among them.

5. The weightiest circumstance, however, which rendered a fixing of the Canon necessary, was the foresight of the divine purpose, which, keeping in view the future design of the people of the Covenant, took from them, for a long period, their prophets, in order thus by a negative process to bring them to a sense of their need of redemption. Malachi, the last of the prophets, and who lived under Artaxerxes Longimanus, was succeeded by no other deserving that name in its proper sense. In the book of Sirach the time of the prophets is referred to as past; in their time God comforted Jacob, by means of them (*παρεκάλεσε τὸν Ιακὼβ, καὶ ἐλυτρώσατο αὐτοὺς ἐν πίστει ἐλπίδος*, xliv. 10). Of the following time, the *Priest* Simon was the only person whom the author could hold up as furnishing the ideal of a man meriting well of the Theocracy (ch. l.). That after the time immediately preceding the return from captivity there were no more prophets, is expressly stated in the first book of Maccabees (*ἀφ' ἧς ἡμέρας οὐκ ὤφθη προφήτης ἐν αὐτοῖς*, ix. 27); and this in a way which indicates that the author regarded this characteristic of the period referred to with sincere grief. Such lamentations over the loss of

[1] The overlooking of a higher principle of this sort has led to mistakes, as in the case of Hartmann üb. d. Pent. s. 537, who, setting out from the assumption that the "Book of the Wars of Jehovah" contains later Sagas than could have been had Moses been living when it was written, concludes that Moses could have made no use of it; which is one of those reasonings in a circle by means of which the spuriousness of the Pentateuch is made out.

the prophets were uttered frequently in the time of the Maccabees (1 Mac. iv. 16; xiv. 41); and the consciousness of this absence and helplessness pervades the whole history of the time, as one of its most striking features, in that faithful record of it which we have in the books of the Maccabees. (See also Joseph. Antiq. xiii. 1.) Josephus also, much as he endeavoured to exalt his nation, could find no traces of any prophet during this period; John Hyrcanus is the only person whom he even speaks of as sustaining this honour, for him he calls prince, high priest, and prophet, in one person (de Bell. Jud. i. 3); but it is obvious that the last of these epithets is applied merely on account of Hyrcanus's great sagacity, (*ὡμίλει γὰρ αὐτῷ τὸ δαιμόνιον, ὡς μηδὲν τῶν μελλόντων ἀγνοεῖν*), and through the historian's evident anxiety to vindicate to his nation, by a vigorous straining, what it had in fact now ceased to possess. The testimony of the Jews, however, is unanimous as to the cessation of prophets after Malachi. Jerome, as a disciple of the Rabbins, and expressing their sentiments, introduces the Jewish Church as saying: "post Haggaeum et Zachariam et Malachiam nullos alios prophetas usque ad Johannem Bapt. videram" (ad Jes. xlix. 21.). The famous Seder Olam Rabba (c. 30, p. 320, ff.) says: "Prophecy ceased in Israel from the time of Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi" (see more of this in Vitringa Obss. Sacr. ii. p. 320, sqq.). Thus in room of the living Word, which stood by the people as the unchanging norm of faith and life, something else required to be introduced which in some measure should supply its place. And if even in the time of Jeremiah the want of prophets was felt (comp. Lament. ii. 9; Ps. lxxiv. 9), how much more in the periods following? Here were circumstances clearly inducing to a collection of the Holy Scriptures, and rendering the want of a Canon felt.

§ 8. TIME OF THE CLOSING OF THE CANON.

The circumstances just considered fix our attention upon the period immediately succeeding the captivity. Before this we find no certain traces of the collection of the sacred writings into a Canon; and what have been adduced as such are to be referred to mistakes. Thus the expression הַסְּפָרִים Dan. ix. 2, cannot in

the least, if we regard the context, be understood of a canonical whole, but refers simply to the particular prophecies of Jeremiah, which Daniel had in view when he presented his prayer; comp. Jer. xxix. 10.[1] Still less can we admit the story of the wonderful preservation of the Canon of Jeremiah; it is derived from sources too turbid to deserve even the name of a tradition (see Fabricius, Cod. Pseudepig. V. T. I. p. 1113); and consequently we must differ from Pareau when he says (Institut. p. 51, [BIB. CAB. vol. viii. p. 56]), that "this tradition is highly probable," and therefore builds on it an hypothesis of his own.

Every consideration duly weighed leads to the conclusion that it was in the time of Nehemiah and Ezra that the Canon was completed.

1. In itself considered this period must be regarded as the most suitable for such an undertaking. Years of sorrow had brought as their result a firmer attachment, on the part of the people, to the faith of their fathers; they cleaved with earnest desire to those consolations which had abounded in bygone times, rich as these were in signs and promises. The more careless and corrupt part of the nation having remained behind, the rest were the more inclined to a wholesome purification and a spiritual reform. Here, then, begins a new religious epoch; and from the newly-awakened life of the people, new religious institutions had their rise. It is certain that the synagogues ascribe their origin to this epoch (Hartmann, Die Enge Verbindung des A. und N. T. s. 242, ff.), and in them we have only an expression of the general reversion to the law and the Prophets, and the pleasure derived from being occupied with them. It cannot be supposed, especially when we consider the firm inflexible spirit of the age which so naturally arose in this way, that the Canon could escape its notice. It was from this alone, the true basis of the Theocracy, that the new state could obtain security; and how much the people were penetrated with this convictton, appears sufficiently from such passages as

1 See this fully shown in my Comment. on the place p. 325, ff. What Steudel has advanced (Disquisitio in Dan. ix. 24—27; Tub. 1833, p. 15, sq.) in opposition to my interpretation, can hardly be grammatically justified. Certainly the place (1 Chron. xvi. 24) which he adduces in support of the common construction is against him, for סַפֵּר cannot be construed with ב as the sign of the objective, and moreover the sign of the accusative את is not wanting here. Also the construction of the בִּין with ב and the accusative is without example.

Nehem. x. It may be observed also, that among the Muhammedans we find that immediately after Muhammed's death they turned their thoughts to a collection of the Coran (see below Hist. of the Arabic Language, ch. ii.)—an evidence how much in all times, in a season of growing religious fervour, the thoughts of men are directed to the securing of the written documents of their faith. We have assuredly no reason for believing that the Jews in Ezra's time were more indifferent in this respect than the disciples of Mahammed in the time of Abubeker.

2. Certain facts, which we shall examine more fully afterwards, conduct us to the same result. In the first place we find in the time of Ezra and Nehemiah, the *Canon, as a whole*, treated as a sacred document, and regarded with the utmost veneration (see § 10.) This proves that it had so become under divine sanction, and that it formed a whole, complete in itself. And, in the next place, we have the Jewish tradition, the credibility of which we shall afterwards prove, regarding the *author* of the Canon, in full accordance with this (see § 9.)

3. In the Book of Sirach we have a positive testimony to our position. It is true, the age of this testimony is doubtful, for of the grandfather of the translator, the author of the book in the original Hebrew, we can only say that he must have lived somewhere between 300 and 400 years before Christ.[1] Nevertheless this does not annihilate the value of the testimony; for at all events this is the oldest book we possess written during that period, and thus it is of importance in reference to the Canon in a twofold point of view. On the one hand, it is noticeable that this work, written in Hebrew or Aramäic, was not admitted into the Canon; and this, in spite of the lofty pretensions made by the author himself, who, according to his own testimony, has here produced a book which is *Canonical*, for so his words must be understood: Ἔτι παιδείαν ὡς ὄρθρον φωτιῶ καὶ ἐκφανῶ αὐτὰ ἕως εἰς μακράν. Ἔτι διδασκαλίαν ὡς προφητείαν ἐκχεῶ, καὶ καταλείψω αὐτὴν εἰς γενεὰς αἰώνων, 24, 33, 34. Not less important is the passage in which the author speaks of himself, as the last of

1 That nothing is to be gained by a statement of the common grounds *pro* and *con* in this question has been sufficiently proved by Winer De utriusque Siracidae aetate Erlangen, 1832. It is surprising that nevertheless he alone of all has decided for the later date of the book on the hypothesis of the later closing of the Canon, p. 18, sq.

the Sages (ἔσχατος ἠγρύπνησα), and comparing himself with Solomon (xxx. 16), falls into the prophetic tone: *κατανοήσατε ὅτι οὐκ ἐμοὶ μόνῳ ἐκοπίασα—ἀκούσατέ μου μεγιστᾶνες λαοῦ καὶ οἱ ἡγούμενοι ἐκκλησίας ἐνωτίσασθε* (xxx. 17, 18); or when he concludes with the proud words: *μακάριος ὃς ἐν τούτοις ἀναστραφήσεται καὶ ὁ θεὶς αὐτὰ ἐπὶ καρδίαν αὐτοῦ σοφισθήσεται. Ἐὰν γὰρ αὐτὰ ποιήσῃ πρὸς πάντα ἰσχύσει, ὅτι φῶς κυρίου τὸ ἴχνος αὐτοῦ* (l. 28.) After such statements we may justly ask, How came it to pass that a work making such pretensions was not admitted into the Canon? And the only answer we can give is, that the already firmly established authority of the Canon prevented it. It is justly remarked by Hassler (de psalmis Maccabaicis, part. I. p. 7): "eundem (lib. Sirac.) testem habemus eo tempore quo viveret (cir. an. 180 A. C.), omnem Vet. Testamenti librorum collectionem jam absolutam fuisse. Nam liber ejus *hebraice* quidem scriptus et *dignus qui reciperetur* in reliquorum numerum (at least according to its own assertions) non receptus est." Comp. part ii. p. 7.

On the other hand, we have, in accordance with this, the judgment of the son of Sirach respecting the Canon; inasmuch as he not merely cites and refers to separate books of it, but views it as a *completed whole.* Thus the Prologue of the translator cites the three divisions of the Canon (see on this § 11); and particularly the last of them, by the expression *τὰ ἄλλα πάτρια βιβλία*, and *τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν βιβλίων.* According to some, indeed, of our more recent critics, this token of the Canon is very dubious. Hitzig (Begr. d. Kritik., p. 98), thinks that the "vague" expression *τὰ ἄλλα κ. τ. λ.*, indicates that the collection had not yet received the general title כְּתוּבִים, *ἁγιόγραφα*, and that the collection itself had not been completed. To the same effect Redepenning (Theol. Studien und Kritiken, 1833, p. 866) concludes that from this expression we may prove "the gradual transition from the canonical literature to the apocryphal." De Wette also says: "that from this it cannot be proved that at that time the completion of the third division had taken place," (Einl. p. 18.) Alas for these critics that the same and similar "vague" expressions occur as denoting the Chetubim in Josephus, Philo, and the New Testament (see § 11); a circumstance which might have made them a little more cautious in their assertions, as on their grounds it would follow from this that even in the time of Christ the Canon was not

completed. The expression, however, is anything but vague. It is not said simply "other," or "some remaining writings," but "*the* other," "*the* rest," τὰ ἄλλα, τὰ λοιπὰ. (Comp. Matthiae's Greek Grammar, vol. ii., § 268, p. 393, Eng. Tr., 4th edit.) Thus it denotes a definite class distinct from the Law and the Prophets; and this is sufficiently clear from the very form of the expression, τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν βίβλίων, especially the use of the genitive.

We can, however, adduce from this book of Sirach a still older witness, one hitherto overlooked, but whose word is sufficient to remove all doubt as to the fact of the Canon having been then closed. In this book we find a hymn on the Fathers of Israel, the famous men of former times, and the author commences this at ch. xliv. with some general characteristic remarks. Amongst these he refers to their written memorials, and arranges them under three heads; he speaks of the *Law*, of which he frequently elsewhere makes mention, and always in the most respectful terms. (Comp. xlv. 5, ἐντολαὶ, νόμος ζωῆς, καὶ ἐπιστήμης, διαθήκη, κρίματα, &c.) And of the rest he makes mention of but two classes, the one consisting of the ἀπηλγηκότες ἐν προφητείαις, the other of the διηγούμενοι ἔπη ἐν γραφῇ, xliv. 3, 4. There is here an antithesis not to be overlooked, and this the author keeps in view during the subsequent context (comp. xlvii. 6, 17.). The last class he characterises also as σοφοὶ λόγοι παιδείας, and μέλη μουσικῶν; the most striking feature of this collection being that it contains the Proverbs and the poems designed for liturgical purposes. Supposing προφητεῖαι to be the title of the one collection, and of this there cannot be the least doubt, since the Prologue so names it—that of the other was certainly γραφαί, writings in general. This much at least is certain, that this book makes mention of these as the *only* parts of the canonical documents; and this is sufficient to annihilate all uncertainty as to whether the book recognises a completed Canon.

4. On this so weighty a testimony leans a more recent one, in itself certainly not without force, but at the same time deriving its principal importance from its agreement with the results obtained from the book of Sirach.[1] It is that of Josephus, Cont. Apionem I. § 8. (Comp. Euseb. Hist. Eccl. iii. 10.) In order to confute

1 I cannot, therefore, with Dr Hengstenberg call it the "most significant witness." Beitr. s. 245.

his opponent and to establish the truth of the Hebrew *history* (*περὶ τῶν ἀρχαίων ἀληθοῦς ἱστορίας*) especially in contrast with the Grecian, Josephus begins with the assertion that the Greeks had not like the Jews a *δημοσίαν ἀναγραφήν*, and in that case also no *περὶ τὰς ἀναγραφὰς ἐπιμέλειαν*. With the Orientals the latter was supplied by priests and philosophers;[1] to whom the Hebrew priests, who preserved a perpetual unity of tribe, and consequently carefully conserved the books entrusted to them,[2] and the *Prophets*, the writers of these books, bore an analogy. The *whole* thus formed he calls *τοὺς νόμους καὶ τὰς μετὰ τούτων ἀναγραφάς*, and divides it into twenty-two books, five for the Law, thirteen for the Prophets, and four of holy songs and sentences.[3] It was not every one, he says, who was permitted among the Jews to write therein; only the Prophets were competent, in virtue of their divine inspiration (*κατὰ τὴν ἐπίνοιαν ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ*—comp. the notable passage Antiqq. iv. 8) to describe the most ancient events, or to write the history of their own times with perfect accuracy. The twenty-two books of his nation *were justly esteemed divine* (*τὰ δικαίως θεῖα πεπιστευμένα*—this is the correct reading in place of *τὰ δικ. πεπ.* Comp. Havercamp in loc. Jahn, p. 127). The thirteen Prophets wrote their history from the death of Moses to the reign of Artaxerxes.[4] From Artaxerxes to our day everything also has been recorded in books, *but these have not been regarded as deserving equal credit with the former because of the failure of the exact succession of the Prophets* (*πίστεως, δὲ οὐχ ὁμοίας ἠξίωται τῆς πρὸ αὐτῶν, διὰ τὸ μὴ γενέσθαι τὴν τῶν προφητῶν ἀκριβῆ διαδοχήν*).

From this testimony it is at least incontestably clear how sharply Josephus and his Jewish contemporaries distinguished between the canonical and apocryphal writings. In this passage, it is true, he states some things as his *private* opinion, but the rest he certainly adduces as the common judgment of his contemporaries. To

1 Οἱ ἱερεῖς ἦσαν ἐγκεχειρισμένοι καὶ περὶ ταύτας ἐφιλοσόφουν. He refers to the Babylonians and Egyptians.

2 Πεφύλακται μετὰ πολλῆς ἀκριβείας. Comp. also as a commentary on this passage Selden's tract de successionibus in Pontif, p. 197—204.

3 So reckoned the Alexandrian Jews according to the numeral power of the alphabetic letters. Comp. Origen in Euseb. H. E. vi 25. Jahn Einl. i. 128, ff.

4 Μεχρὶ τῆς Ἀρταξέρξου .... ἀρχῆς. Some codd. incorrectly omit the *ἀρχῆς*. Oeder by mistake renders it *beginning* in place of *reign*; Freie Unters. üb. d. Kanon, s. 63.

the former belongs the chronological datum in the passage, "from Moses to Artaxerxes." If we compare his Archäology we shall find that he relates the history of his people, from Joshua as far as the book of Esther, strictly according to the Old Testament writings in keeping with his own declarations (see the Proem. and Antiqq. x. 10). Now since the events recorded in the book of Esther happened, according to Josephus (Antiqq. xi. 6), in the reign of Artaxerxes, it is natural that this date should be viewed by him as the epoch of the completion of the sacred books. But there are two points in which Josephus gives us in the above passage the opinion of his cotemporaries; the one is that these writings were reverenced as divinely authorised (*πεπιστευμένα*); the other is, that others were not held worthy of credit, *διὰ τὸ μὴ γενέσθαι τὴν τῶν προφητῶν ἀκριβῆ διαδοχήν*. What do these last words intimate? They cannot refer merely to the completion of the books of the Prophets, for it would have sufficed for this to say, "since prophets no longer existed." But the Jews in the time of Josephus felt that a *διαδοχὴ προφητῶν* was needed for the canonical authority of a book, that is evidently for the purpose of determining whether any book was canonical or not. Supposing, then, that after prophecy had ceased a single prophet had appeared, it would not have been competent for him to insert his own writings in the Canon, inasmuch as there was no longer the *ἀκριβὴς διαδοχή*. The cessation of this Josephus places in the time of Artaxerxes, when the book of Esther was written, and declared to be canonical. This latter opinion has no greater weight with us than belongs to any private judgment of that age; but especially important is the conclusion, announced as the general opinion, that a regular succession of prophets is necessary for the authentication of canonical writings; whence it follows that at the termination of this the Canon was regarded as a fixed and absolute whole. Hence Josephus says expressly: *τοσούτου γὰρ αἰῶνος ἤδη παρωχηκότος οὔτε προσθεῖναί τις οὐδὲν οὔτε ἀφελεῖν αὐτῶν οὔτε μεταθεῖναι τετόλμηκεν*, a valuable commentary on the other passage. In the time of Josephus the conviction was most firmly established that a Canon, thoroughly genuine and free from all human additions, had been handed down through the medium of the prophets, and had been so regarded during the entire interval between his time and the period at which the prophetic suc-

cession terminated. No more express testimony than this exists in proof that the Canon was closed soon after the Babylonish captivity.[1]

Let us now proceed to examine the opposite views respecting the closing of the Canon. Spinoza (Tract. theol. pol. c. 10) speaks, generally of books inserted in the Canon after the Maccabean age, but without specifying any in particular. Hobbes says: "Manifestum satis est Veteris Testamenti Scripturam totam ea forma quam nunc videmus neque ante reditum a captivitate Babyl. *neque post Ptolemaei Philad. tempora editam fuisse.*" (Leviath. p. 179.) Leclerc was the first to go from a new standing-point more thoroughly into the subject, in the Sentimens de quelques theolog. &c., p. 216, ff. Founding principally on the position that more recent objects are referred to in the Canon than such as were known in the time of Ezra, Leclerc was of opinion that the collection of the Canon is due to the zealous endeavours of pious individuals who had preserved the separate parts of it until the reading of the Prophets along with the Law came into use in the age of the Maccabees, which rendered the collecting of the whole necessary.[2]

Notwithstanding this, Eichhorn, in the first edition of his Einleitung, announced that, "shortly after the close of the Babylonish exile and the founding of the new state in Palestine, the venerable remains of the Hebrew sacred writings were *all* collected;" and no time, according to his "historical feeling," was more suitable than this. Bauer, however, affirmed that the Canon, as it existed in the time of Christ, did not receive its form and substance before the time of the Maccabees (Einl. s. 36); in evidence of which he adduced the closing chapters of Daniel and the genealogies in Chronicles. So also Augusti (Einl. § 18.). This induced Eichhorn to renounce his "historical feeling," which had hitherto conducted him aright, and on account of Daniel and Obadijah to ascribe the

[1] See on this the deduction of Hengstenberg, Beitrage s. 248, who nevertheless treats the *whole* testimony of Josephus too unhesitatingly as the aggregate opinion of his time. (Comp. also Keil, Apologet. Versuch. ueb. d. Chronik. s. 82, ff.) Hence also the investigation of the contradiction between Josephus's private judgment and tradition appears to me not pertinently grounded, and too artificial.

[2] In opposition to this, Carpzov admirably remarks, Introd. i. 24, "*publicam* non privatam canonis compositionem fuisse oportuit, siquidem ut liber aliquis canonicus sit non sufficit eum esse divinitus inspiratum, sed *hoc insuper requiritur, ut divinitus ordinatus atque consecratus ac traditus sit ecclesiae pro regula fidei et morum.*"

closing of the Canon to the Maccabean age (Einl. i. s. 40, ff., 4te Aufl.).

Characteristic is the turn which this opinion has taken in the hands of these theologians, when one considers by what reasons they were influenced towards it. It was not by free, independent historical investigation they were guided, for of the grounds adduced by us—grounds positive and drawn from history—not the slightest notice is taken by them; they were swayed by certain prejudices which they fostered in reference to the composition of certain books, and under the influence of which some still come to the inquiry. But such special investigations should not be neglected here; else will hypothesis on hypothesis be constructed, and this will render the entire superstructure, to say the least, suspected. At any rate every one must feel bound to admit the existence here of a contradiction, if the history of the Canon gives one result and the history of particular books another. Whilst it is the business of special criticism to evince the assonance of the latter with the former, it would be monstrous to assign to the latter a supremacy over the former; this would be an act of usurpation.

This was felt by later theologians. Bertholdt (i., s. 70, ff,, especially § 80, ff.) has very fully exhibited the gradual formation of the Canon even in the time of the Maccabees. But on analysing the grounds for this, we find that it is in consequence of the *peculiar form* of the Ketubim that this later arrangement has been supposed; for "some of these books received their existing form at a period not earlier than the death of Antiochus Epiphanes (B. C. 163)," § 84, and thus we are brought back to the old preconception and prejudice. True, Bertholdt adduces two reasons which he thinks in favour of so late a collecting. The one is, as Bauer had before urged, the religious zeal of one party under the first Maccabees excited by the lukewarmness and faithlessness of the other. But will not this apply to the time of Nehemiah as well? And besides, as the time of the Maccabees, even at the best, was utterly destitute of the gift of inspiration from heaven,[1] it must be placed on a par with that of Josephus, and what he says of the latter, be held as applicable to it: *οὔτε προσθεῖναί τις οὐδὲν οὔτε ἀφελεῖν αὐτῶν*

1 "This unhappy age had *lost* all faith in a spirit of God operating on men." De Wette Bibl. Dogm. § 143.

οὔτε μεταθεῖναι τετόλμηκεν, or as he says of himself: μηδὲ προστιθείς τι τοῖς πράγμασιν αὐτοῖς ἴδιον, μητ' ἀφαιρεῖν ὑπεσχημένος (Antiqq. x. 10.) Of more weight is the second reason assigned, borrowed from Eichhorn (Einl. in die Apoc. s. 9), viz., that at this time men were led to close the Canon in consequence of the multitude of writings which were appearing. But Eichhorn himself nullifies this reason by admitting that the non-reception of any of these later writings into the Canon proves the existence of an earlier completion of the Canon, to which as a standard the parties held themselves justified in appealing; and thus this reason fails of itself. Moreover, Bertholdt's opinion rests upon several false inductions, as will appear from the following remarks.

Whilst De Wette accepted Bertholdt's results without any more extended investigation, Bleek laboured further to establish this view,[1] with the modification, however, that at first the Pentateuch was put together (in the time of Ezra), and afterwards all the other books were at one time joined to the book of the Law. But this only augments the difficulty of the hypothesis, for who will now avow that the Maccabean age was so bold as to form an entirely *new Canon?* Surely what cannot be shown to be tenable as respects particular books is still less tenable or conceivable in reference to a complete new collection. Bleek rests his hypothesis on two passages, 2 Macc. ii. 13 (on which see next section), and Nehem. viii. 10, where it is alleged the Thorah appears as the only public known book of authority. To this Hengstenberg replies that the Thorah was viewed as especially holy, as the highest rule of the whole Theocracy (Beitr. § 239); to which it may be added that a reason for its being so exclusively read may be found in the ignorance of the people concerning it, of which we have in Neh. xiii. 1, ff., so remarkable an example. But that even in the *time of* Ezra there were several books joined with the Pentateuch as canonical seems to me indubitable from such passages as Nehem. xii. 44—46. Here mention is made of arrangements according to the Law, ver. 44, and of others "according to the commandment of David, and Solomon his son," ver. 45, and in ver. 46, of songs of praise and thanksgiving, which were again, as of old in the days of

[1] In the Theol. Zeitschrift of Schleiermacher, De Wette and Luecke H. 3, 198.

David and Asaph, sung unto the honour of Jehovah. Such a juxtaposition of the Thorah with other books is very remarkable; the liturgical use of the Psalms of David, and the following of the regulations of David and Solomon, indicate that they were viewed as possessing a normal authority. But on this point we shall say more in the following section.[1]

We subjoin here only the general observation, that the arrangement of the Canon furnishes the weightiest objection to this hypothesis, inasmuch as it presupposes a fixed plan, a determined principle. From this objection Bleek's modification affords no relief; even in it there is mention made of a successive formation of the collection of the Hagiographa (§ 199). If, however, there be, for books so diverse from each other as those of the Old Testament, a fixed principle on which they are classified, and if this be not that of the order of time in which they were composed, it is impossible to regard the collection as the work of *successive* epochs. For such a work there must have been persons penetrated by the same spirit, and acting on the same uniform principle; it must have been done therefore at one period; and hardly an epoch can be fixed on for this but that of Ezra and Nehemiah.

§ 9. BY WHOM WAS THE CANON COLLECTED?

Were the opinion of De Wette, that "the entire Old Testament collection was certainly formed gradually, and, as it were, of itself," (s. 17), well-founded, such an enquiry as that on which we are now about to enter would be superfluous and absurd. But to say nothing of the impossibility of this *a priori*, for it is not more credible that there should be a self-created collection, formed by writings blown together by chance—like the oracles of the Pythian seeress—than that there should be a self-created book; it is clear from what we have already seen, that before the exile there existed a collection of sacred writings, and that the formers of it were known (§ 6). Hence this strange hypothesis is historically incorrect;

1 When Hengstenberg urges against Bleek those passages in which the inspiration of the Prophets appears as a thing generally believed in the days of Ezra, his reasoning seems irrelevant; for this has never been questioned, but only their reception into the Canon. [But if a book was generally received as the work of an inspired Prophet, would not its canonicity be also admitted as a matter of course?—Tr.]

and indeed nothing but the fettering influence of having a side to defend at all hazards could have led to its being broached.

We begin with what the *tradition* of the Talmud has handed down concerning this subject, and, in the first place, its relations concerning an institution of the times of Ezra, the *Great Synagogue.* To us these appear anything but a mere fable, "not worthy even of refutation" (De Wette, s. 15); we believe that, unless all certain results are to be relinquished, and free scope given to arbitrary assumptions, great respect must be bestowed upon these ancient and important traditions.

The oldest and most remarkable testimony on this subject occurs in one of the oldest portions of the Talmud, *The Sayings of the Fathers* (פרקי אבות) (Mishnah ed. Surenhus IV. 109). This book thus begins: "Moses received the Law at Sinai; he transmitted it to Joshua; Joshua to the Elders; the Elders to the Prophets; the Prophets to the Men of the Great Synagogue." There was thus a college, an association formed, by means of which the religion of their fathers might be faithfully preserved. In this writing it is said of the Great Synagogue that their office is to "surround the Thorah with a hedge" (עשו סייג לתורה), an allusion to Exod. xix. 12, 13, and intended to apply to the Masorah (comp. the Mishna IV. 442), which has really, by its determination of the text, and the collecting of the traditions thereto belonging, set a hedge around it.[1] Now this testimony presupposes that the Canon was already complete; for how could work upon the text begin unless the text itself was in existence? Hence the Talmud ascribes to the Masoretes a great antiquity, and attributes to the Great Synagogue similar occupations; comp. the Tr. Kiddushim fol. 30, 1.—"The ancients (ראשונים) are called Scribes (סופרים), because they numbered all the letters of the Law."[2] To this we may add such passages as the Megillah (Babyl.) fol. 20. 2, where the same sort of occupations are imputed to the Great Synagogue.

These, however, are only indirect testimonies, and their suitableness and importance do not appear until we view this in the light of two weighty passages in the Babylonian Gemara, Tr. Baba

1 Comp. Hartmann Die Enge Verbindung des A. and N. T. s. 131, ff.

2 Quod ajunt ראשונים *priores, priscos* sic vocatos esse, id demonstrat eos Talmude longe superiores et antiquiores fuisse et longissime ante Talmud hanc dinumerationem factam. Intelliguntur autem viri synagogae magnae ab Ezra propheta et sacerdote collecta. Burtorf, Tiberias p. 45.

Bathra fol. 13, c. 2, fol. 15, c. 2. These are frequently severed from the connection in which they stand,[1] and thus being mutilated they are quite misunderstood. In these the Rabbins enlarge at considerable length on the subject of the Canon, and communicate some interesting traditions respecting its formation. They first mention fol. 13, c. 2, the arrangement of it, and say: חכמים אומרים כל אחד ואחד בפני עצמו, "The wise men say:[2] All is one and each part again stands for itself" (*i.e.* again forms by itself a complete whole). Further: והביאו לפנינו תורה נביאים וכתובים מדובקים כאחד, "And they have left to us the Law, Prophets, and Hagiographa, *combined into one whole.*" "Who," they go on to say, "has written (ומי כתבן) these books?" To this it is replied: *Moses* wrote the Pentateuch and Job; *Joshua* the book which bears his name, and eight verses of Deuteronomy; *Samuel* the books of Samuel, Judges, and Ruth; *David* the Psalms, assisted by ten men; *Jeremiah* his book, Lamentations, and the books of Kings; *Hezekiah and his College* (Prov. xxv. 1) Isaiah, Proverbs, Canticles, and Ecclesiastes; *the Men of the Great Synagogue* Ezekiel, the δωδεκαπρόφητον, Daniel, and Esther; *Ezra* his book, and the genealogies in the Chronicles; and *Nehemiah* finished the Chronicles.

As this passage is usually translated it is supposed to refer to the *composition* of these books, and this is taken as the only meaning which will suit the verb כתב and the context.[3] But nothing seems more evident than that the verb here can mean only to *insert* (in the Canon) to *edit.* For 1, there is no doubt that כתב has this sense; it occurs even in the Old Testament (s. Winer Lex. p. 504), and indeed there is no other word by which in Hebrew, in consequence of the deficiency of that language in compounds, the idea of literary insertion could be expressed.[4] 2. What *goes before* is expressly in favour of this meaning, for it is of the Canon and its constitution that the discourse here is. The words ומי כתבן stand in the clearest reference to the words והביאו לפנינו. 3. It is only in this way that *what follows* can be satisfactorily

[1] As for instance by De Wette, s 16.

[2] Consequently expressly ancient esteemed tradition. The *wise* are the most esteemed scribes. See Hartmann Lib. cit. s. 155, 398, 428.

[3] Comp. Aurivillius, De Synagoga Mag., in his Dissertationes, edited by J. D. Michaelis, p. 150; De Wette p. 16; and even Hengstenberg, Beitr. s. 2 and 24, &c.

[4] A passage strikingly in unison with that before us occurs in Villoison's Anecdott. Gr. II. 182: ἐθέλησε (sc. Pisistratus) τὴν τοῦ Ὁμήρου ποίησιν ἔγγραφον δια-

interpreted. This is manifest, *e. gr.*, in the case of what is said of Isaiah and the writings of Solomon, the collecting of which the Talmudists ascribe to Hezekiah and his men. This is confirmed by comparing the Chaldean Targum upon Prov. xxv. 1, where the הֶעְתִּיקוּ (they *collected*) of the original is explained by דְּכָתְבוּ (they *wrote* or *transcribed*)[1]—a passage to which the Talmudists evidently had respect when they wrote the words now under notice. Hence the best interpreters of Isaiah (comp. Vitringa I., p. 16; Gesenius, I., s. 16) have not the least hesitation in understanding the reference to that book in the sense we have given. It thus appears that Moses, Joshua, and Samuel are named alike as the editors of their respective books (which is not necessarily identical with their composition) on the ground of those passages in the Old Testament (comp. § 6) where they are named as engaged in the formation of the temple collection.

We have accordingly the best authority for maintaining that in this talmudic passage the closing of the Canon, and the editing of its latest writings, are ascribed to the Great Synagogue, to Ezra, and to Nehemiah. Taken thus the passage has an admirable and self-complete connection. The collecting of the canonical writings began with Moses and was completed in the time of Ezra and Nehemiah, by the efforts of these and other competent men. The tradition has preserved also the stamp of truth in the enigmatical character which it bears. If we examine the way in which Rashi labours to explain every particular in it (see the passage cited by De Wette, s. 17), we shall sufficiently see how little the meaning of the whole passage was clear to the later Jews; and we must the more insist on the intrinsic worth of such a tradition, as in subsequent enquiries (see, for instance, *the History of the Text*) it will like a golden rule affirm itself. Already has the great Vitringa expressed himself in this respect thus:—"Ipsa inspicienda est traditio ejusque fundamentum. Traditionum enim Talmudicarum et inter eas exoticarum *tanta apud me est auctoritas*, quantum pondus est rationis qua fulciuntur; quae si ab ipsis detur vel aliunde appareat probabilis, nulla est spernendi caussa. (Comment. in Jos. I., p.

φυλάττεσθαι. The expression ἔγγραφον is explained in another Scholium in the same work: λέγεται ὅτι συνερράφησαν ὑπὸ Ἑζεκίου τὰ Θμήρου ποιήματα καὶ κατὰ τάξιν συνετέθησαν.

[1] The reason is that עתק in Chald. and Talmudic usage has the meaning not of *edit* but of *translate*; comp. Buxtorf, Lex. p. 1686.

26.)" And in fact men are beginning again to acknowledge the historical validity of this tradition, and along with that the truth in the tradition itself concerning the Great Synagogue;[1] and to perceive the unreasonableness of a scepticism which consistently proceeds so far as to doubt the actual existence of a Great Synagogue altogether.[2]

The objection chiefly urged against the collecting of the Canon according to this tradition is (see Rau loc. cit., p. 185 sq.) that the latter contains a chronological error, inasmuch as in it Simon the Just, who lived long after the time of Ezra, is adduced as a member of the Great Synagogue. Even Keil has been induced by this to doubt the tradition (Lib. cit., p. 88 ff.) But without any just reason. For it is to be observed, 1st, that the passage in the tract Baba Bathra says nothing on this head, but only that from the Pirke Aboth; 2dly, Even this latter says only that Simon belonged to the *residue* of the Great Synagogue (משיירי אנשי כנסת הגדולה), and thus intimates that in his time it was ceasing to exist; and, *in fine*, we must look at this matter in the light of Jewish opinions, from which alone the tradition can be rightly estimated, and according to them Simon was invariably regarded as the successor of Ezra,[3] so that the distance between the two could not be so great as is commonly supposed.

With this Talmudic tradition other testimonies concur. We specify especially the account in the fourth Book of Esdras of the miraculous restoration of the Canon. Ninety-four books, seventy esoteric, and twenty-four exoteric, were by inspiration communicated to Ezra that he might convey them to the people; ch. xiv.[4] Now the Talmud reckons also twenty-four books in the Old Testament (Baba Bathra, fol. 14, 2), and we have here, therefore, certainly one of the many Jewish elements which in general form the basis of this writing.[5] Only the Jewish tradition is here presented in an

1 Comp. Bertholdt Einl. I. 66 ff., especially s. 86; Jahn I. 130; Pareau, Lib. cit. p. 54. Comp. also Jost Gesch. d. Israeliten III. 43; Hartmann, p. 120 ff.

2 Comp. Rau De Synag. Mag., Utrecht 1726; Aurivillius lib. cit.; J. D. Michaelis, Orient. Bibl. II. 6, XX. 43; De Wette, loc. cit.

3 Comp. Othonis Histor. Doctor. Misnic., p. 13 sq., and his Lex. Rabbin. Philol., p. 696.

4 So according to the Arabic and Ethiopic versions. The Lat. version speaks of 204 writings; 134 exoteric and 70 esoteric. The latter is nothing but a later exaggeration.

5 Comp. Luecke, Versuch ein. vollst. Einleitung in d. Offenbarung Johannis s. 102, ff.

apocalyptic form, and is consequently more dressed up. But how could it have more naturally arisen than in this way, that already a decided Jewish tradition was in circulation which intimated the services of Ezra in collecting the Canon?—a conclusion which becomes still more certain when we compare the statement of Irenæus, adv. Haer 3, 25 (Euseb. H. E. v. 8), where he says Ezra only *τοὺς τῶν προγεγονότων προφητῶν πάντας ἀνατάξασθαι λόγους, καὶ ἀποκαταστῆσαι τῷ λαῷ τὴν διὰ Μωϋσέως νομοθεσίαν*, ascribing to him thus the mere arrangement of the Canon.[1] In this way it is clear that the Talmudic tradition above adduced is anything rather than a modern rabbinical fancy, since it is found (and that in an extended form) in a book written probably in the end of the first century of the Christian era.[2] It may serve as a specimen of the arbitrary criticism of De Wette that he pronounces of this testimony from the fourth Book of Esdras that "it hardly deserves notice." (Einl. s. 17.)

We approach next a witness of still higher importance in point of age, one who lived before Christ—that, namely, of the second book of the Maccabees, ch. ii. ver. 13.[3] This passage comes at the close of a longer one, in which, after some narratives concerning him, the services of Jeremiah in preserving the Ark of the Covenant containing the Law, &c., are magnified (*εὑρίσκεται ἐν ταῖς ἀπογραφαῖς.*) Probably this refers to the apocryphal legends concerning Jeremiah, of which there certainly were many in Egypt, as even the condition of the Alexandrian version of his prophecies shows.[4] The Egyptian author of this writing doubtless was in possession of such legends current there. After this follows a new citation: *ἐξηγοῦντο δὲ καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἀναγραφαῖς καὶ ἐν τοῖς*

[1] Other Fathers (Clement of Alexandria, Strom. I. 342, 392; Tertullian, De cultu femin. i. 3, &c; see Fabricius Cod. Pseudepigr. Vet. Test. I. 1157 sq.) hold by the dressing up of the fourth book of Ezra, which more accords with their taste.

[2] See Luecke Lib. cit., § 111, ff.

[3] This passage has been conjured into a different meaning by Bertholdt, s. 76, Bleek, s. 201, and Hengstenberg, s. 241, but not as it appears to me its own meaning. I present my view here rather on its positive side by which its opposition to others may be sufficiently discerned.

[4] The same thing is proved by the complaints of Justin Martyr, of the corruptions of the Text of Jeremiah by the Jews (*e. gr.* Dial. cum Tryph. p. 178), on which Fabricius (l. cit. p. 1108) rightly says: credibilius est, codices Graecae versionis *jam privato quorundam Apocryphis se delectantium studio interpolatos*, jam librariorum oscitantia mancos fraudi beato Martyri fuisse.

ὑπόμνηματισμοῖς τοῖς κατὰ τὸν Νεεμίαν. If I do not misapprehend this passage, it refers to that writing, of which unhappily we retain only a single fragment, the third book of Ezra. This begins with Annals (ἀναγραφαῖς), but even at its beginning we have it imperfect; and after that it contains Memoirs (ὑπομνηματισμοι) concerning Ezra and Nehemiah. Unhappily, however, there is a lacuna just where it begins with Nehemiah, though both from the close of the writing itself, and from what Josephus says concerning Nehemiah, it is quite clear that several things were therein narrated of him. That this Apocryphal writing also might contain similar additions concerning Nehemiah and his character, is abundantly proved by the legends on Zerubbabel (ch. iii. 4). This book also is fundamentally nothing more than an Alexandrian pendant to the canonical writings of Ezra and Nehemiah. We may thus with certainty conclude from the citation before us, that what the passage concerning Nehemiah states, was diffused among the Alexandrian Jews as a tradition. It is as follows :—ὡς καταβαλλόμενος βιβλιοθήκην, ἐπισυνήγαγε τὰ περὶ τῶν βασιλέων καὶ προφητῶν καὶ τὰ τοῦ Δαυὶδ καὶ ἐπιστολὰς βασιλέων περὶ ἀναθημάτων. A parallel is here run between Jeremiah and Nehemiah to the effect, that as the former had preserved the Law, so had the latter the other scriptures, which he had combined into one *sacred collection*.[1] In this passage we have only the Alexandrian appellations of the parts of the Old Testament:—the historical books are indubitably pointed at under the words τὰ περὶ τῶν βασιλέων (comp. τὰ ἱστορούμενα περὶ τῶν βασιλέων, 3 Esd. 1, 31), and under them as a heading, named *a potiori*, we may well suppose also Joshua and Judges to be included. The title *prophets* is also clear. It is further evident, if we take into consideration the later custom of naming the Hogiographa from particular portions of them (comp. § 11), why in this passage only two parts of them, as *pars pro toto*, should be named. To the writer these were of special interest; the Psalms because of their common liturgical use in the age of Nehemiah, and the letters of the heathen kings in reference to the consecration-offerings, as an evidence of favours which the Egyptian Jews, through their laxer Syncretism,

1 This is the proper force of the word βιβλιοθήκη in the later hellenistico-jewish and Christian usage of it. Comp. Philo cod. apoc. N. Ti. I. p. 790; also Wolf Prolegg. ad Homer. p. 145.

especially sought. Thus the closing of the Canon was placed by the Alexandrian Jews at the date we have already fixed; and they ascribed a share in that work to Nehemiah, whom the Tradition of the Palestinian Jews had numbered among the member of the Great Synagogue.

We proceed now to examine the Canonical Scriptures themselves, that we may ascertain what may be gathered from them bearing on our present subject. Let us consider first the Books of Chronicles, assuming (what may be regarded as an established result[1]) that Ezra was their author. Now the peculiar character of these books indicates on the part of their compiler that he had to do with the collecting of the Canon. As respects their general character, the Chronicles are purely such a compilation from, or rather edition of original materials, as would be required for the completing of the Canon (comp. § 7); they show how much attention had been paid to the collecting of genealogies, a very important class of documents under the Theocracy (comp. Ezra ii. 63, 64, 1 Chr. ix. 1); and also to the working up of the other annals and materials to one *whole*. Of the same kind of activity the books of Ezra and Nehemiah bear witness in their numerous genealogical registers, and their incorporated documents. Is not this proof sufficient that the author of these books had been much occupied in collecting and combining into one canonical whole the scattered sacred writings? Is it not by this alone that the later historical books of the Old Testament can be fully explained? And if such industry on the part of Ezra and Nehemiah was exercised on particular parts of the Old Testament, it must so much the more have been exercised on the combining of them into one whole.

To this we must add the evidence accruing from Ezra's own history. After the priest had in the most zealous manner devoted himself to the restoration of the ritual and the ancient theocratic arrangements, he for thirteen years disappears from the history. He next comes forward after the return of Nehemiah, and that, at the request of the people, with the Thorah in his hand, and accompanied by wise men (הַמְּבִינִים), who explained the same to the people. In the course of several days the whole Law was read to

1 See Keil. lib. cit. § 144, ff., though his proofs admit of being strengthened; comp. Movers Krit. Unters, üb. d. bib. Chron. § 14, ff.

the people in the most solemn manner, and at no festival might the reading of the Holy Book be omitted, nay, the people bound themselves most solemnly to the reception and retention of this covenant (Neh. viii. 10.) The special weight which is here attached to the reading of the Law, and the manner in which an especial desire, after it was shown, coupled with the lengthened retirement (as it appears) from public activity of Ezra, render it extremely probable that he had been busied during the interval with the copying and editing of the Thorah. In connection with this also, he appears (as in the book of Ezra) in his function as Scribe (הַסֹּפֵר,[1] γραμματεύς) Neh. viii. 1, and this still further justifies us in regarding him as having up to this time been engaged in such occupations.[2] As moreover, in the reading of the Law he was faithfully supported by the Levites, the wise men (Neh. viii. 9), he had probably their assistance also in the previous arrangement of the matter, for the priests appear in the narrative as already skilfully familiar with the Thorah—nor is such a supposition other than natural, considering that Ezra was himself a priest.

We cannot suppose, however, that it was with the Thorah alone that Ezra had thus occupied himself; the time is sufficiently long to admit of our including also the collecting and copying of the other Scriptures by him. Ezra describes himself as הַסֹּפֵר סֵפֶר דִּבְרֵי מִצְוֹת־יְהוָה וְחֻקָּיו עַל־יִשְׂרָאֵל Ez. vii. 11, an expression which can hardly refer to the Mosaic Law alone, and from the context we may infer the same, for it was on account of this his quality that the king Artaxerxes intrusted to him the edict, well knowing that he placed it in the hands of a man to whom all documents affecting Israel were of interest. Further the efforts of Ezra and his contemporaries were directed not merely to the perfect restitution of the Law, but to that also of the entire ritual, and that not in any arbitrary way, but after the plan of David and Solomon (Neh. xii. 44, ff); and for this not only the *historical* books would be required, but also the *Psalms*. These books being regarded as furnishing the standard of the new religious organization, it cannot be

1 See on this Kleinert, in the Dorptsche Beiträge I., 120, ff., especially 287, ff., Keil lib. cit., § 101, ff.

2 A similar predicate used by the Arabians was الكاتب, *the writer*; see *e. gr.* Abulfeda, Ann. III., p. 232, 233, Adler.

supposed that they would not be combined into one whole, and this could be the more easily done as each family of singers had been kept up from the earliest times, and consequently had preserved both documents and songs. In fine, it appears to me that a passage in one of the later prophets attests this combining of the Scriptures into one whole, viz., Zechar. vii. 12, which is the less surprising since this prophet was himself of the sacerdotal order; he combines הַדְּבָרִים אֲשֶׁר שָׁלַח יי בְּרוּחוֹ בְּיַד הַתּוֹרָה and הָרִאשֹׁנִים הַנְּבִיאִים. This combination in this special manner and the appeal to it appear to me not easily explainable unless already when the Prophet wrote this, a beginning at least had been made of joining the Thorah and the Nebiim, and this the more that the subject relates to an ecclesiastical solemnity, and that consequently it was necessary to refer to a known and general standard.

The result of our enquiry is, therefore, that the Jewish tradition, viewed in its fundamental truth, is in pleasing harmony with historical evidence, viz., that the collection of the sacred writings was completed by Ezra in company with other eminent men of his time.

§ 10. MOTIVES FOR THE RECEPTION OF ANY BOOK INTO THE CANON.

On this point a double view may be taken. The one is that the collector of the Canon had a *secular* design, intending only to form a collection of national writings. In this light one may compare the preparation of the Canon with the collection of the classics made by the Alexandrian critics Aristarchus and Aristophanes (Quinct. Inst. Or. X. 1) and thus the work of Ezra and his colleagues may be represented as prompted by similar scientific and patriotic zeal. The other view proceeds upon the peculiar relations in which the authors of the books stood to God; these are not regarded as books coming into existence in the ordinary human mode, but as, what they in many places declare themselves to be, inspired by the spirit of God,[1] and written under the special guidance of this unerring leader.

1 Comp. John I. 95, Nor must this be taken as simply a mythical mode of representa-

These two views are so strictly opposite, and the light in which they respectively represent the author of the Canon is so very different, that it is in vain to overlook or deny the fact.[1] The latter view is that which the Church has in all times held concerning the compilers of our canonical books; the former is properly a conjecture of the school of Semler,[2] by which they have sought by a more convenient way to get rid of certain to them troublesome and, as they chose to consider them, "immoral" writings of the Old Testament. This notion has in recent times more or less furtively lain at the basis of so many erroneous opinions and tendencies, that it well deserves a fuller exposure.

It will little serve the purpose of the opponents of the ancient view to point to the fact that all the documents composing the canonical literature are not of a religious character, but that some are "works of history and wit," which it was thought desirable to preserve from oblivion. The question here is not what men, impelled by neological prejudices, may *esteem* the writings of the old covenant: it is a question of a purely *historical* kind, and being such, their opinion will be found capable of hardly any sort of justification. Certainly not in the general: for nowhere do we find the belief which pervaded the ancient world that each people had its own men who were deemed worthy by the Deity of special revelations,[3] more fair and pure than among that people which alone could boast that the most precious treasures of divine wisdom, the λόγια τοῦ Θεοῦ had been committed to it (Rom. iii. 2.). As little in particulars; for if we compare the writings produced by Jews immediately after the closing of the Canon, we discover the most decided testimonies in favour of the inspiration of the authors of the canonical writings. Nothing can be more unhistorical than the notion of some, that this was a theory which arose and took form all at once, for it is one supported most decidedly by the older assertions of the sacred books. Let us look at a few of these no less

tion and accommodation (Bauer Heb. Mythol. i. 23); but as throughout real and in the directest sense. See Pareau De Mythica S. Cod. interpret. p. 267, sq., ed. Sec.

1 As it is by De Wette however; Einl. s. 21, ff.

2 It has been principally developed by Corrodi, Beleuchtung des Jüd. u. Chr. Kanons, § 1. 2. Comp. Bauer, Einl. § 27.

3 *Vetus opinio* est, jam usque ab heroicis ducta temporibus eaque et populi Romani et *omnium gentium* firmata consensu, versari quandam inter homines divinationem. Cicero, de divin. i. 1.

decided than universally concurrent testimonies, and all uncertainty will disappear as to the conviction that it was the fact of inspiration upon which depended the reception of some books into the Canon, and the exclusion from it of others.

God, we are assured by the weightiest in this respect of these witnesses, is the Author of his Law, by which he has established a Covenant with his people (2 Macc. vi. 23 ; Sir. xxviii. 7) ; Moses is a holy prophet (Wisd. xi. 1) ; his law is divine, contains all worth knowing, is the fountain of life, is from eternity to eternity (Sir. xvii. 12 ; xxiv. 23, ff. ; Wisd. xviii. 4 ; Bar. iii. 12, ff. ; Tob. i. 6.) By the study of the Law and of the Prophets a man becomes *wise* (Sir. xxiv. 18, ff. ; xxxix. 1, ff.), and for such a blessing one must part with all, even life itself (1 Macc. ii. 50—70.). The ancient prophets are alone trustworthy in their predictions (*πιστοὶ ὁράσεως*), (Sir. xlvi. 15, xlviii. 22). The Canon is not a collection of ordinary writings ; it is composed of *holy books* (1 Macc. xii. 9 ; 2 Macc. vi. 23). The men of God and the Prophets obtained the highest wisdom (Wisd. vii. 27) ; their writings are divine dictations (*προστάγματα τοῦ Θεοῦ*. Bar. iv. 1).

In the same way Philo and Josephus speak of the Old Testament writings. With them Moses is invariably the first of the prophets (*ἀρχιπροφήτης*), and the other sacred writers are his disciples and friends (*Μωϋσέως ἑταῖροι*), though their mode of representation inclines to the Alexandrian, the heathen Syncretism, &c. (De Wette, Bibl. Dogmatik. § 144 ; Baumgarten-Crusius, Bibl. Theol. s. 105, 106). Josephus frequently calls the biblical books *divine* (cont. Ap. i. 8 ; Antiqq. XII. ii. 14), and expressly asserts their divine origin, which he describes as a feeling deeply engraven from his earliest childhood on the mind of every Jew (cont. Ap. i 8. Comp. Bretschneider Capit. Theol. Jud. e Flavii Josephi scriptis collecta, p. 9. sq.).

§ 11. DIVISION OF THE CANON INTO THREE CLASSES OF BOOKS.

The threefold division of the sacred books is found even in the book of Sirach (comp. § 9), as well as in the New Testament, and in Philo (comp. § 14) ; very frequently also in the Talmud under the names by which they are commonly known with us תורה, נביאים, וכתובים (comp. *e. gr.* Baba Bathra, fol. 13, 2. Berachoth,

fol. 5. 1. Maccoth, fol. 10, 2. See Surenhusius *Βίβλος Καταλλαγῆς*, p. 49). The first question that may be raised in respect of this is whether the position of the books in each of these canonical divisions was the same from the time of the formation of the Canon as it is at present, or whether some alteration was effected by the Jews in later times. The latter opinion is espoused by Storr (ueb. die älteste Eintheil. der Bücher d. alten Bundes, in Paulus N. Repert. Th. ii. 225, ff.), who leans in support of it chiefly on the passage in Josephus, cont. Ap. i. 8, according to which only the Psalms, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and Canticles are found in the third class. But this division of Josephus cannot be regarded as of weight in this question, because he is discoursing of the arrangement of the historical books, or such as were of importance in a historical point of view (hence: *οἱ μετὰ Μωϋσῆν προφῆται τὰ κατ' αὐτοὺς πραχθέντα συνέγραψαν ἐν τρισὶ καὶ δέκα βιβλίοις.*) This division, moreover, being in the manner of Philo, bespeaks an Alexandrian source, and is quite in keeping with the license which the Jews of that part allowed themselves, as contrasted with the stationary character of those of Palestine.[1]

It is to be observed further, that whilst it is easy to account for the rise of this latter variety, according to which the books are arranged according to their *contents*, out of the other, the converse can hardly be done. Hence the division of the Talmud, and the classification of the books found in it, certainly originated from the earliest time of the collection, and with the authors of that themselves. This Sirach also attests since even he knew a threefold division, though we cannot tell particularly what books he reckoned in each class.

We have now to investigate the *reason* and *principle* of this division; and first we shall consider the names which have been given to these parts respectively, and then the writings themselves, of which they are composed. Both points thoroughly examined will lead us to the same results.

1. It is easy to understand why the Pentateuch, the Thorah, as the foundation of all the other parts of the Canon, should be regarded as one self-sustained whole. The Pentateuch itself sets up the distinction between its author, and all other men privileged

1 I am confirmed in this by the name *ὕμνοι* given at a later period to this class. See more on this afterwards.

with divine revelations so clearly, that it cannot be mistaken. Moses is the most distinguished, the most highly favoured of all Israelites. Whilst no man was ever permitted to see the face of Jehovah, but only his back (Exod. xxxiii. 18—23),[1] Moses saw the Lord face to face and spoke with him as a man with his friend (Exod. xxxiii. 11; Deut. v. 4, 5). He differs from all other prophets also in this, that whilst they only had visions, Jehovah spoke to him mouth to mouth (Deut. xii. 6—8; xxxiv. 10). Comp. Witsius, De Privilegiis Mosis, in his Miscellanea Sacra i. 41, seq.

Whilst the Pentateuch is thus sufficiently distinguished from all the other sacred books by the peculiar eminence of its author, and by its significant relation to the Theocracy, it is not so easy to explain the meaning of the titles of the other two parts—*Prophets* and *Writings*. We must in the outset here endeavour to ascertain precisely the idea embraced in Scripture by the word נָבִיא.

The most ancient passage in which this word occurs is Gen. xx. 7; comp. Ps. cv. 15. Here Abraham is called by this term, because the Patriarch united in his own person the royal, the priestly, and the prophetic offices.[2] In the time of Moses we find among the Israelites prophets and prophetesses (Numb. xi. 25; xii. 6, 8); but it was chiefly with reference to the far off, and the far-

[1] The face of God is the expression of His Essence; the back of God the partial revelation of this Essence, so far as it is conceded to frail sinful man. Comp. Tholuck Comment. Z. Johan. s. 37, 38, Z. Röm. Br. s. 358, 2te Aufl. The truth of this conception was guessed even by the heathen; of the appearance of Venus in human form Virgil says, as she manifested her deity, "*avertens* rosea cervice refulsit." Aen. i. 402. Of Theophanies there went abroad the common saying, χαλεποὶ δὲ θεοὶ φαίνεσθαι ἐναργεῖς, Hom. Il. xx. 131. When in the passage cited from Exodus God refuses to show Moses his face, this is said in reference to the desire of Moses (ver. 18), which was unseasonable; he should *believe* without having *seen* what he desired; he was bound to submit to the divine revelation without any reserve, to yield it unconditional belief in the absolute sense. In this way the passage may be explained in perfect harmony with that referred to in the text.

[2] For certainly those recent interpreters (Vater, Rosenmüller, Schumann) are in error, who stretch out the meaning of the word נָבִיא in this passage, so as to make it signify *confidant, friend of God*. This is against the etymology, for the Arabic نَبَا signifies properly *proferre, producere*, and thence is applied to *discourses*, especially of religious and mystic character, Coran. Sur. iii. 13, Hinkelm. Achmed Ibn. Arabsch. Vit. Tim. I. p. 8, Manger. It is against the original meaning of נָבִיא found even in the Pentateuch itself, viz., *interpres rerum divinarum*, comp. Exod. vii. 1, 2. Especially is it against the constant usage of the word. Abraham enjoyed many prophetic promises, which were reserved for coming generations, and to this plainly reference is had in the application to him of this term. Comp. Jahn Einl. II. 380.

thest off future, that the founder of the Theocracy set forth so clearly the difference between true and false prophets (Deut. xiii. 2, ff.; xviii. 20, ff.), and announced Him who should fulfil all prophecy, and pre-eminently deserve the name of prophet (Deut. xviii. 15—18.).—But the period of Samuel and the earliest kings is the proper period of the prophets. With it began a new religious life, a season of efflorescence for the Theocracy, and Samuel especially stood forth as the Reformer of the ancient Church. But with these excellent efforts, sanctioned by Jehovah, there came to light a certain schism—new utterances of spiritual strength, and of a higher divine life. The highest spiritual and temporal power which had been joined in Eli, were separated in the case of Samuel, who was never High Priest (Winer Reallex. s. 601, first edit.), and may rather be regarded as organizing a strenuous opposition to the degenerate priesthood. As his first prophetic message was one of evil to the High Priest, so his whole life was a battle against the sins of the Levites. The *youth* Samuel saw a time in which there was a dearth of the word of the Lord, and but little prophesying (1 Sam. iii. 1); the *man* Samuel saw around him a company of prophets, who in union with him were wholly consecrated to the Lord's service, sang His praises, participated His revelations, and made known His name to the rebellious people.

There thus appears from the time of Samuel a new class of men in Israel, whose place in the Theocracy Moses had already pointed out, and whose rights he had fixed (comp. J. D. Michaelis, Mosaisch. Recht. i. § 36). There was resumed also the ancient Theocratic name נָבִיא, which had almost become obsolete, and in place of which the word רֹאֶה, *Seer*, had come into use (1 Sam. ix. 9). This latter name is highly characteristic of a time when prophesying was not common, and when from time to time the Spirit of God impelled this or the other individual to prophesy. As soon as a regular corps of prophets was formed, their official name was at the same time restored to them.

The gradual formation of this usage in the language may be observed in the historical books of the Old Testament. Samuel retains always the name which was given in his time before the more general reception of the word נָבִיא, viz. הָרֹאֶה (comp. 1 Chr. ix. 22, 26, 28, &c.). At the same time, however, those who were properly enrolled in the prophetic body are by the name alone appro-

priate to their rank, נְבִיאִים, *distinguished* from the simple רֹאִים or חֹזִים Seers. The former, relinquishing every secular avocation, devoted himself exclusively to the work of an ambassador from God to Israel, whose office it was to guide the people of the Covenant by his living word. It is true that the grace of God sometimes selected persons besides them to receive revelations, nay, to be the bearers of the same prophetic promises and threatenings as the others; but these remained in such spheres and occupations as they had otherwise been placed in by Providence, and prophesied without being invested with the prophetic office. Thus, *e. gr.* we have prophecies of David in the Psalms quite like those of the prophets, as the Messianic psalms of David attest, without David's being on that account called anywhere *Nabi*, which indeed, so long as he was King of Israel, he could not be. This latter class was with great propriety called *Seers*, because the word חָזָה or רָאָה has respect to receiving special revelation as an *act*,[1] not as a *function*.[2] We shall cite a few passages which will render this distinction indubitable. In 2 Kings xvii. 13 it is said, "God hath given a witness in Israel by means of all his prophets, every seer" (בְּיַד כָּל-נְבִיאָיו כָּל-חֹזֶה). The Prophets, as the public teachers of the people, bore testimony in Israel, but there were also private persons who gave witness to the divine grace of which they testified. It is by design, therefore, that this latter class is described more indefinitely (כָּל-חֹזֶה *every sort of seer*) than the כָּל-נְבִיאָיו (all *his* prophets); it embraced a greater variety of persons. We may couple with this the passage 1 Sam. xxviii. 6: "Saul inquired of God, but he answered him not either *in dreams*, or *by the Urim or by prophets*." The three means by which knowledge of the future might be supernaturally obtained are here specified:

1 Comp. *e. gr.* Mic. i. 1; Is. i. 1; Amos i. 1, analogous to the New Testament, ἀποκάλυψιν ἔχειν, 1 Cor. xiv. 26.

2 This was denoted already by the form of נָבִיא; comp. פָּקִיד, *overseer*, נָגִיד, *prince*; Ewald. Gr. s. 234. Also the verb נִבָּא stands in the sense of *acting* as a prophet, exercising the function of a prophet; comp. 1 Sam. x. 11; xix. 20; 1 Chr. xxv. 2, 3, as not only the context, but the idea of the Piel-form requires. The rendering of recent writers (Gesenius, Winer, &c.), "cecinit laudes Dei, hymnos," is quite a mistake.

3 We have translated according to the Chetibh, for the Keri is nothing but a gloss that hardly needs refuting. The Masorites omitted the pronoun, because חֹזֶה has no suffix, and they either knew not or omitted to observe the distinction between the two ideas.

it might be by means of private persons, and that as here mentioned in dreams (*pars pro toto*, as that especially to be considered here), such as Saul himself, for instance, might have had; or by means of the High Priest or the Prophets, both of whom are clearly distinguished from the first class. Of weight also is Is. xxix. 10: "Jehovah hath poured out upon you the spirit of a deep sleep, and he hath closed your eyes the prophets, and veiled your heads the seers." The Prophet had evidently two classes of persons here in view who served as leaders of the people: the prophets properly so called, and the seers, to the latter of whom the title heads of the people might with much propriety be applied, inasmuch as they were usually persons of eminent rank in the Theocracy—kings or priests.[1]

In the books of Chronicles we find the distinction between the prophets and seers strictly preserved. Thus invariably in the citation of the chroniclers: *Nathan the prophet and Gad the seer* (1 Chr. xxix. 29); *Nathan the prophet and Iddo the seer* (2 Chr. xii. 15); Isaiah, the son of Amoz *the prophet* (1 Chr. xxvi. 22). It deserves to be observed that we have to do here with very precise citations, in which the *official* title of each is always exactly referred to, as *e. gr.* the history of David *the king* (1 Chr. xxix. 29.) Further the constant retention of this usage enables us to judge better of two passages which at first sight appear to present an exception to it. In 2 Sam. xxiv. 11, it is said: "Gad the prophet, the seer of David." But in this passage the appellation *seer* in apposition to "the prophet" plainly serves for the closer determination of this conception in the sense "Gad, who discharged the functions of a prophet in the capacity of a seer," *i.e.* properly he was not a prophet, but rather a seer.[2] In the parallel passage in

1 We are consequently far from acceding to the opinion of Koppe, Gesenius, and Hitzig, that the words את הנביאים and את החזים are to be held as glosses, on the ground that these interpreters have not entered into the finer discrimination of the conceptions. Strangest of all is it where Hitzig describes these glosses as "wonderful," and as an *erroneous* explanation of what precedes! There lies in these words a peculiar power and emphasis which ought never to have been overlooked. Isaiah also is accustomed to *explain* more closely the figure; comp. i. 5–7, 22, 23, 25, 26; iii. 2, 3, 14, 15; x. 33; xiv. 13, 14; xxiv. 6, &c. Comp. also Is. xxx. 10, where this distinction is observed, and where no interpolation can be suspected; only here we have the expression רֹאִים according to its *ancient* usage in place of נְבִיאִים, as Poetry is fond of such archaisms.

2 In the same way must we understand the passage 2 Chr. xxxiii. 18, where mention is

Chronicles we read simply "Gad the seer," 1 Chr. xxi. 9. The other passage occurs in 2 Chr. xiii. 22 compared with 2 Chr. xii. 15, where a certain Iddo is mentioned in the one case as a prophet, in the other as a seer. But to me it appears to admit of no question that *two* different persons are referred to in these passages. For 1. The name Iddo was common among the Hebrews, so that in such a similarity there is nothing strange; 2. The acts ascribed to the two Iddos are different, which gives room to suppose a difference in those by whom they were done; the one is called דִּבְרֵי עִדּוֹ the other מִדְרַשׁ עִדּוֹ. 3. The Chronicler himself appears to be desirous of rendering this distinction apparent by the manner in which he expresses himself in the passage latest written of the two, xiii. 22: בְּמִדְרַשׁ הַנָּבִיא עִדּוֹ; whilst usually he places the predicate after the noun, he here prefixes it; an irregularity which can only be accounted for by a reference to the former passage, inasmuch as by the prominency thus given to the predicate, the confounding of the two Iddos would be obviated.

Of much importance for our object is the circumstance, that in the books of Chronicles this distinction is so firmly maintained; in consequence of their composition by Ezra (which here we provisionally assume), this circumstance suggests an evidence not to be overlooked, that the author of the Canonical collection must also have had regard to this distinction. What serves to confirm this view is that on comparing the expressions of later Jewish writers, it appears that to them this distinction had already become obsolete, and hence we may with greater justice regard it as one of great antiquity. Comp. the Targum on Ps. ciii. 1,[1] and the Talmud, Tr. Sota, fol. 48, 2: "Who are the first prophets (הַנְּבִיאִים)? R. Hunna answered, David, Samuel, Solomon."[2] The vague use of the word προφήτης by the Hellenists is also well known. Thus the

made of seers who spoke to Manasseh in the name of Jehovah. We *do not* believe with Kleinert (Ueb. d. Aechth. d. Jes. I. 82, 86, 100) that it is of prophets in the proper sense of the term that this is said, but as Gad lived in the court of David, and had probably there his proper function, and yet had divine revelations so also did these men at the court of Manasseh.

1 [The reference here is to the inscription prefixed by the Targumist to the 103d, Psalm, viz., על יד דויד אתאמר בנבואה, *by the hand of David spoken in prophecy*.—Tr.]

2 Hence Hengstenberg is not altogether correct, when in reply to Bertholdt he says that the word נָבִיא had never amongst the Jews of Palestine a more extended sense like the hellenistic προφήτης.

editors of the Canon in their department retained a distinction which they found already sanctioned by the usage of the Old Testament, that of *Nebiim* and *Not-nebiim*, and so after the Pentateuch there had to be *two* classes of books. The latter they called כְּתוּבִים, *writings*. Bertholdt's explanation of this word, that it means books newly introduced into the Canon (Einl. I. 81), is utterly groundless and far-fetched. Paulus (Comment. üb. d. N. T. III. 936), and after him Augusti (p. 61) derive the word from the formula of citation הַכָּתוּב, *it is written*, and understand by it *written authorities*, as in contrast to oral tradition. But this contrast is too artificial, and besides we should require to include several other books under this title, were this derivation of it correct. Others, especially the older theologians (Carpzov, Introd. I. 25), supplied to it ברוח הקדש, after the example of the Rabbins, whose explanation, however, stood connected with an erroneous theory respecting the Hagiographa in general (see following §.) The following appears the most natural and legitimate method of explaining this word. The whole body of the sacred writings was called כְּתָבָא, as they are commonly called in the New Testament γραφή, comp. *e. gr.* Targ. Hieros. ad Genes. xii. 42; Buxtorf, Lex. Chald. Talmud. p. 1107. Each particular part of this whole is consequently כְּתִיב, כְּתוּב, τὸ γεγραμμένον (for which, however, we have also γραφή in the New Testament, Luke xxiv. 46; John i. 46, xii. 16, &c.)—see the examples in Döpke's Hermeneutik d. N. T. Schriftst. § 60, ff. Consequently the כְּתוּבִים are certain definite portions of the כְּתָבָא, for which they had no more distinctly descriptive name. Thus as the כְּתָבָא was called the writing κατ' ἐξοχήν, so these parts of it were called *writings*, specially as distinguished from profane books. Hence the strict translation γραφεῖα is by the Church fathers used interchangeably with ἁγιόγραφα (see Suicer Thes. sub. v.) We thus see how this name can be interchanged with τὰ ἄλλα and τὰ λοιπά (in Sirach), and conforms itself to them; there is in this case an almost perfect accordance of both.

2. Let us now examine those writings which belong to the Prophets and the Hagiographa, that we may see how far these general inferences are borne out in the particular instances. Why are certain historical books, such as Joshua, Judges, Samuel, and Kings, classed among the former? In the general it cannot be

maintained that for the history, as such, a separate place was necessary; this would only have been a very outward and formal ground of distinction. What Schleiermacher has observed regarding the division of the New Testament writings into historical and didactic, applies perfectly here: "Of the historical books the doctrinal discourses of Christ and the Apostles form a very important part, whilst the Epistles of the Apostles are, with few exceptions, intelligible only so far as we read them in connection with historical circumstances either formally detailed in them, or capable of being deduced from them." (Der Christ. Glaube II. 357.) Such a principle of division, therefore, could never appear satisfactory. The collocation of these historical books is explainable only by a reference to the Jewish traditions respecting them. "Tradition says (λόγος φέρεται)," we are told in Syn. Script. Sac. in Athanasii Opp. II. 73, "that they were written at different times by prophets." According to the Talmud (Baba Bathra, fol. 14, 2; 15, 1) the books of Judges, Samuel, and Kings, were written by Samuel, Nathan, and Jeremiah.[1] According to the same authority also the greater part of the book of Joshua was written by Joshua himself; but that Joshua, appearing in the earliest age of Jewish history, and as the follower of Moses, was, in consequence of this, viewed in the light of a prophet, is evident from Sir. xlvi. 1, where he is called διάδοχος Μωυσῆ ἐν ταῖς προφητείαις (comp. Jos. Antiqq. V. 1—4.)

In this matter it is not the *contents* of the book, but only the *authorship* of it, which was looked at. Hence, as on the one hand the opinion which Ewald adduces (Jahrb. für wissenschaft. Krit. 1831, No. 44), is incorrect, viz., that the historical books were numbered with the prophetical writings because of the numerous notices of the prophets contained in them; so on the other, the attempt to refute this opinion (as Keil does, Lib. Cit. p. 79) by asserting that Joshua and Judges relate nothing concerning prophets, is quite untenable, as it may be historically disproved (see Ewald, Leipz. Lit. Zeit. 1833, No. 188 s. 1501). It is enough [in reply to Ewald, to say] that the principle would in this way be

[1] In this passage the name of Gad is added to these, whom the Scripture always represents as only a seer—another proof that the Talmudists, not understanding the meaning of this division, allowed themselves arbitrary license in the matter of additions.

perverted, and a tradition misapprehended, which in this case can be alone decisive.

Against the reception of the rest of the Prophets there is the less that has the appearance of force to be said, since Jewish antiquity viewed them as forming one collective whole arranged by the Great Synagogue (see the passages by Voisin in Raymond Martin's Pugio Fidei p. 95, sq.; Waehner Antiqq. Heb. i. 41, sq.). Even here, however, objections have been started. Thus Amos is said not to have been *professionally* a Prophet; but this assertion rests on a very superficial view of the passage ch. vii. 14 (comp. Hengstenberg's Christologie III. s. 195, ff.). So also it has been regarded as incompatible with this hypothesis that Jonah should stand among the Prophets; but why so? seeing no doubt can be entertained that he was regarded as a Prophet among his own people, as he is expressly called נָבִיא 2 Kings xiv. 25. It is irrelevant, therefore, on the part of Keil (p. 78, ff.) to lay stress, for the refutation of this objection, on the symbolical meaning of his prophecies for Israel, since it is not this, but the fact just mentioned, which comes into question in reference to the placing of his book among the Prophets.

If we look again at the Hagiographa, it is easy to discover the reason why most of them have been separated from the other books. The works of a David, an Asaph, a Solomon, could not be reckoned with the Prophets, as their authors were not prophets. The same reason holds clearly with respect to historical books like those of Ezra and Nehemiah, whose writers were not prophets, an office of which Haggai and Zechariah are expressly described as the holders in the book of Ezra (v. 1). So also the Chronicles were, according to tradition, composed by Ezra.[1] It is no objection to this, as Ewald supposes (Leipz. Lit. Zt. l. c. s. 1502), that this tradition may be false; for this does not come into question here; all that we have to do with, is the fact that such was the ancient Jewish tradition, and this is vouched for by the passage

[1] Comp. Bava Bathra, fol. 15, 1, "Ezra wrote his book and the genealogies of the Chronicles down to his own time." The Talmudists would ascribe the composition of Chronicles to Ezra, but the genealogies they assert to have been completed by Nehemiah; so has Jarchi already understood the passage. Others, as Buxtorf the Younger, (De punct. antiq. et orig. p. 182) less rightly translate "down to the word יהוּדָה" 2 Chron. xxi. 2, which has no rational sense.

from the Talmud, as compared with the comments of the later Rabbins, who no longer understood its meaning. Thus Jarchi says (Comment. ad Chron. I. 1), "Ezra wrote the genealogies by means of Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi."

There are only two books whose position among the Hagiographa it is difficult to account for, those of Daniel, and the Lamentations. As respects the former, we must in the first place assert the high antiquity of this allocation, and that partly on account of the testimony of Jerome and the Talmud, which concurrently assign this place to Daniel, and partly on account of the book of Sirach. The author of the latter knew certainly, as it appears,[1] this book; though he does not expressly cite it. In ch. xlviii. 49 he speaks of men who had merited well of the Theocracy, and specifies, following chronological order, Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel. He omits the Minor Prophets,[2] as by them the chronological order would have been interrupted. As, then, on the one hand, he hereby ties himself to chronology, and on the other to the canonical arrangement, the same seems to have prevailed in the case of Daniel. Were his book among the Hagiographa, he could not be introduced here chronologically, and in this case the omission is sufficiently accounted for.[3] But if this arrangement were so ancient, the point of view from which the editor of the Canon regarded the other books must also have prevailed in reference to this. This is sufficiently explained by the personal condition of Daniel, who nowhere appears as Nabi, which indeed he could not be in consequence of his offices, entered upon in early life, at the courts of the rulers of Babylon and Media. He was, therefore, like David and Solomon, merely a חוֹזֶה, and what Drusius observes is perfectly correct: "peccant qui Danielem ponunt in ordine prophetarum. Nam et David propheta fuit et tamen ab ipso Christo excluditur ex hoc ordine. Moses propheta fuit prophetarum, non tamen ponitur in illo ordine" (adnot. ad N. T. t. II. p. 53.). No objection can be urged against this, from the fact that in the New Testament Daniel is

1 See my Comment. s. XL. ff. The strictures of De Wette, Einl. § 255, 4te Ausg., and Redepenning Stud. und Krit. 1835, i. s. 179, have had no effect in convincing me of the erroneousness of the arguments there adduced, but rather the opposite.

2 For xlix. 10 is an interpolation, s. Bretschneider, lib. Sir. Gr. p. 662.

3 Analogous, and yet erroneous, views on this are advanced by Stange in the Analekten f. d. Stud. d. exeget. und system. Theol. I. 34.

called a *prophet*, because according to the Hellenistic usage the Nabi was not discriminated from the Hhoseh. It is also a mistake to infer from this that the respect due to Daniel, or to the revelations imparted to him, is less than the other prophets and their writings.[1] There is no difference in point of inspiration between Prophets and Hagiographs (see the following section); the distinction lies exclusively in the theocratic standing of the writer. Celebrated as was the name of Solomon and his wisdom, he was nevertheless not a prophet, and his writings are with perfect propriety inserted among the Hagiographa. Comp. Carpzov, Introd. ii. p. 230, "etsi recte habent, quae de *munere* docendi ac prophetandi *publico* a Daniele *non administrato* sunt allata, prophetica tamen is *dignitate* exuendus non est nec postremo inter illos loco collocandus. Nam et Christus ipse prophetae elogio eum ornat, Matth. xxiv. 15, et nullo prorsus destitutus revelationis divinae genere, prophetarum reliquis paria per omnia fecit."

More difficult is the question why the Lamentations of Jeremiah have been separated from his Prophecies. Hengstenberg (p. 27) thinks that this is attributable to the predominating subjective character of this book. But this is hardly satisfactory; as the same might be said of the prophecies, if by *subjective*, rightly understood, be denoted the precise stamp of the author's individuality. We admit this book to form an exception to the rule, but one for which it is easy to account. Already there had been placed among the Hagiographa a large number of liturgic poems, and we have seen above how much use was made of these in the time of Ezra. Now the Lamentations are of the same character as these, as may be seen by comparing them with the elegies and grief-songs of other ancient peoples, and especially when we take into view the uniform rythmus, in all respects similar to that of the liturgical psalms. Besides it is not as a prophet that Jeremiah composed these chants; he appears here just as any other pious and inspired subject of the Theocracy might have done. Hence it was held most fitting to place his poems in that class of writings in which the other liturgical poems were to be found. On the same principle, if Jeremiah wrote any of the psalms (and Hitzig, Begriff der Kritik. s. 53, ascribes to him a large number, though it must be confessed on

[1] So Steudel in the Disquisitio in loc. Dan. ix. 24–27, p. 8.

very insufficient grounds), these would certainly have been incorporated with the Hagiographa; just as the 90th Psalm, which there is no reason to doubt was written by Moses, is nevertheless not placed among his other writings.

§ 12. REFUTATION OF CERTAIN ERRONEOUS VIEWS.

The furthest removed from the truth are those who would ascribe the threefold division of the Canon to the fact of three successive collections of the sacred writings, as Bertholdt, Einl. i. 370, ff.; De Wette, § 13. The boldest part of this hypothesis is certainly the assumption that the second class, that of the Nebiim, was completed before the third was commenced. In this case all the Hagiographa must either have been written or first discovered at a later period. Both suppositions are inconsistent with the historical testimonies already adduced by us from Ezra and Nehemiah, and neither is in itself probable. If it be conceded (and it is so even by the rationalist theologians) that some of the writings in the Hagiographa must have been known to those whom we have assumed as the editors of the Canon, this whole hypothesis falls to the ground. For in this case that part of the Hagiographa which they were acquainted with must have been separated by them, and thus at any rate the division arose with them. But in this way the problem is anything but solved; we must still come to the original question, and must begin the investigation anew.

But there is an erroneous view of much greater antiquity, originated by some Rabbins in the middle ages, from a mistake as to the meaning of the tradition already mysteriously set forth in the Talmud. They sought the distinction between the *Nebiim* and the *Ketubim* in the different grades of *inspiration* of their authors, and distinguished prophecy, properly so called (נְבוּאָה), from the Holy Ghost (רוּחַ הַקֹּדֶשׁ). This theory is chiefly developed by Maimonides in the Moreh Nevochim Par. II. c. 45 p. 317, sq., ed. Buxtorf. Its leading idea is that the degree of the Holy Ghost was lower than that of Prophecy; consisting chiefly in a revelation by dreams in such a way that the authors of the Hagiographa knew only a part of the truth, whereas proper Prophecy is pure, *i.e.* contains the truth whole and entire. Perhaps this theory

sprang from Muhammedan philosophy, which makes an analogous distinction between the Koran and the Sunnah, or other prophetical utterances (comp. Hottinger Bibl. Orient. p. 163, 164); at least Maimonides makes frequent use of the ideas of the Arabian philosophers (comp. Buddeus Introd. ad Hist. Philos. Heb. p. 162). The same notions are found also in Kimchi (see his preface to the Psalms), the later Kabbalists (Schoetgen, Hor. t. II. p. 293), Abarbanel, and others.

To me, therefore, it appears a mistake into which some recent scholars, as Hengstenberg (lib. cit. p. 25) and Keil (lib. cit. s. 73), have fallen, when they treat this later Jewish invention as an ancient tradition, and consequently adopt the opinion that there really was an internally different relation in which these men stood to God. (Intimations of the more correct view are to be found in Baumgarten-Crusius, Bibl. Theol. s. 219.) Sack also appears to have given in to this view, for he says (Apologetik, s. 308): "the peculiar character of the Hagiographa is that they do not communicate the thing given in the revelation-act, but set forth a thought-image springing from the subjective, and yet by no means merely human excitement of the revelation-spirit, with such a reference to the elsewhere given word of God that a purer and more living understanding of the latter thence proceeds."[1]

Now in the outset I must confess that this alleged difference of inspiration appears to be so extremely vague and loose, even in the definition, that one can hardly conceive of it as at all describing any regular fact. Of biblical authority it is entirely deficient; nay, the New Testament may be regarded as directly opposed to it, from the way in which it speaks of David, Daniel, &c. The Holy Ghost represents himself throughout as inspiring the writers of holy Scripture as a body, and his agency in this is throughout the same. It appears to me also certain that this distinction was not believed in by the old orthodox Jews. I conclude this, especially from a passage in the beginning of the Prologue of Ecclesiasticus, which has not hitherto been adduced as bearing on this subject: *πολλῶν καὶ μεγάλων ἡμῖν διὰ τοῦ νόμου καὶ τῶν προφητῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν κατ' αὐτοὺς ἠκολουθηκότων*

[1] [Not having the slightest idea what the words which Prof. Sack has thrown together in this extract mean, I have translated them *ad verbum*, leaving it with the reader to make sense of them if he can.—Tr.]

δεδομένων. It is not improbable that the author intended by this remark to make a polemical thrust at the Alexandrians, who gave a one-sided preference to the Thorah (see next section), as he also blames their translation. In that case what he would say is, that the other authors of the Hagiographa were *like the Prophets* (*κατ' αὐτούς*) followers, imitators of Moses, and consequently that to both the same reverence is due on account of this their common tendency.[1]

Further, this theory seems quite inapplicable to the historical books, for instance, of the Hagiographa compared with the others; we must in this case go the same length as Cellérier (Introd. à l'A. T. p. 298), and regard these as merely "des écrits privés,"—an opinion which can meet with no favour with any one who has carefully read the books of Chronicles. It would follow also from this theory that the prophecies of Daniel must be severed from those of the other Prophets. In like manner the prophecies in the Psalms, as for instance when the Psalmist speaks obviously in the person of another (the Messiah), as in Ps. xvi. and xxii., can be fully cleared only by the analogy of the prophecies, where the Prophet appears altogether in God's stead, and speaks in His name as in spirit identified with Him.

§ 13. HISTORY OF THE CANON AMONG THE JEWS OF PALESTINE AND THOSE OF ALEXANDRIA.

We have now to consider the fortunes of the Canon in the times immediately subsequent to its completion. And here that which first demands our notice, is the relation of the Jews in Egypt to those in Palestine in this respect. At present we possess a number of apocryphal writings, almost all of which are of Egyptian origin. Did these constitute an integral part of the Alexandrian, or of the Palestinian Canon? The latter may be regarded as impossible, on the ground of what has been already shown, viz., the closing of the Canon among the Jews long before. Among the narrow-minded Pharisees also before this time a hatred of Greek literature had displayed itself. They held the study of it to be profane (*κοινὸν*

1 See this, the alone correct meaning, more fully developed by Storr in Paulus, N. Repertor. II. s. 231.

εἶναι νομίζοντες τὸ ἐπιτήδευμα, Joseph. Ant. XX. 11. 2.) The Mishna forbids any one to learn this language,[1] and the Gemara cites the proverb: Cursed be he who teaches his son the Greek wisdom.[2]

Perhaps, however, the Alexandrians thought otherwise; at least some have asserted that the Apocrypha was received by them as canonical. This has been urged by different parties from very different motives: by the Catholics, from a desire the better to justify the canonicity which their Church has ascribed to these writings (so Jahn Einl. I. s. 132, ff.); by the Rationalists, with a view of thereby rendering the canonical writings uncertain and suspected.[3] Their principal reasons are the following: 1. Jahn cites two passages from Jerome for that assertion, viz., from the Prologue to Judith, where he says, "apud Hebraeos Judith inter *hagiographa* legitur," and from the Prologue to the book of Tobit, "librum Tobit, quem—Hebraei his, quae *hagiographa* memorant, manciparunt." These passages it will be seen say nothing of the Alexandrian Jews. The "Hebraei" are always with Jerome those whom he best knew, the Palestinian Jews. Hence Jerome cannot be regarded as affirming anything on the point now before us. There can be no doubt that instead of *hagiographa* the right reading is *apocrypha*. Nothing is easier than to conjecture how the former reading arose; the transcriber or monk, prejudiced by the dogma of his Church, felt himself moved to make the alteration. 2. A much weightier argument is founded on the use which the Church Fathers made of the Apocrypha; it is alleged that the reverence with which they cite these writings as divine can be explained only by the great authority which these enjoyed among the Alexandrians. Now it certainly must be admitted as somewhat startling that the Fathers should so frequently quote the apocryphal writings with the same formulae as the canonical—*ἡ γραφὴ λέγει, ὁ Κύριος λέγει,* &c. But the difficulty here disappears when we consider how books not in the Old Testament Apocrypha are cited by them. Thus the book of Enoch is referred to by the oldest

1 שלא ילמד אדם את בנו יוונית. Sota, c. 9, § 14.

2 ארור אדם שלמד בנו חכמת יוונית. Comp. Wagenseil on Tr. Sota, p. 967, sq.

3 Thus Semler, Freie Unters. d. Kanon I. 5; Corrodi, Beleuchtung des Bibel-Kanon I. 155, ff.; Münscher, Dogmengesch. I. 257; and recently anew Von Ammon, d. Fortbildung des Christenth. z. Weltreligion I. 130.

Fathers down to the time of Jerome, who calls it an "apocryphum," (Fabricius, Cod. Pseudepig. I. p. 168, sq.); so also the 4th book of Esdras is cited by Clement of Alexandria thus: λέγει Ἔσδρας ὁ προφήτης (Strom. III. p. 556, ed. Potter); and in like manner Tertullian makes use of the Testament of the twelve Patriarchs as if it were quite an authentic production (adv. Marc. V. 1; Scorp. adv. Gnost. 13.) Few will be inclined to go as far as Corrodi, who inferred from this that these pseudepigraphic writings also formed part of the Alexandrian Canon, for they betray evident traces of Christian authorship. That in such citations we have to do with only the vague and arbitrary notions of the Fathers who enlarged the Canon without any regard to just criticism, and from whose language consequently no inferences can be deduced bearing upon this point, is clear from the way in which they speak of the New Testament Apocrypha, where they are entitled to more deference than in the case of the Old Testament. Thus it is not at all improbable that Justin Martyr made use of apocryphal gospels along with the Canonical (see Credner, Beiträge zur Einl. in. d. Bib. Schr. I. §. 258, ff.) Irenæus cites the Shepherd of Hermas with the words ἡ γραφὴ λέγει (adv. Haer. IV. 20.) Clemens Alex. uses the κήρυγμα Πέτρου as if it were quite an apostolic work (Credner, lib. cit. § 351, ff.) Of the Epistle of Barnabas also the same says: Βαρνάβας ὁ ἀπόστολος ἐπήγαγε, &c. (Strom. II. p. 447.) &c.

On the other hand, we have in favour of the identity of the Palestinian and Alexandrian Canons the following considerations: 1. Though the Alexandrian Jews differed from those of Palestine in many respects of a religious kind, of which their erecting a temple for themselves at Leontopolis is a sufficient evidence; we must not regard this as amounting in any case to an entire independence on their part of their co-religionists.[1] Their temple was built on the model of that at Jerusalem, their worship was the same. They sought to avoid a formal schism, and at least to outward appearance to hide the internal divergence of opinion. Hence they sent Philo to Jerusalem, there in the name of his countrymen to offer sacrifice.[2] But how could such a schism have been pre-

1 On this Baumgarten-Crusius justly observes (Bibl. Theol. s. 101), that "the Alexandrian Judaism stands only in a constrained, self-pretended union with the Mosaism of the Old Testament."

2 Philo Opp. II. 646, ed. Mangy; Euseb. Praep. Evang. VIII. 14; Eichhorn Einl. I., § 21.

vented had they sanctioned a peculiar Canon? They would by this have overturned the foundation of their common religion, and rendered all mutual approximation impossible. 2. The translator of Sirach, who, during his residence in Egypt, turned the proverbs of his grandfather into Greek, acknowledges the inferiority of his translation to the original, and adds that the same was the case with the Greek versions of the canonical books in relation to the original. He thus establishes the fact, that there was no difference of Canon; he rather presupposes an identity, and confines his censure exclusively to the execution of the translation, whilst had he known of any arbitrary additions to the Canon, he would not have passed over these in silence. 3. Philo, the most important witness in everything relating to the opinions of his countrymen, and who faithfully represents all the degeneracy of their religious notions, attests the identity of the Canon. It is highly probable that he was acquainted with the Apocrypha, and draws sometimes from them the expression of his ideas. Nowhere, however, does he cite any of them expressly; he never founds any reasoning on them; he nowhere ascribes to them divine or canonical authority.[1] Philo in this respect is followed by Justin Martyr, who frequently might have found a confirmation of his ideas in the Apocrypha, but in no case makes any use of them. 4. Josephus expressly states that all the non-canonical writings possessed but a limited credibility, and were not inspired (c. Ap. I. 8). As a Hellenist, however, whose knowledge of Hebrew was but moderate (Gesenius, Gesch. d. Heb. Spr. s. 80, ff.), Josephus uses the LXX. His testimony is thus of so much greater weight; for since there is no denying a certain approximation on his part to the Alexandrian Judaism, especially in what is common to it with heathenism (see Baumgarten-Crusius, s. 61 and 102, ff.), it is certain that he would have spoken otherwise of the Apocrypha had the Alexandrians regarded them as canonical.

There is a party which, with Bertholdt (Einl. I. s. 98), adopt a middle view, and contend that there was a *private use* of the Apocrypha as canonical writings though not a public one. But had this been the case we must have detected this private use in

1 Comp. Hornemann Observationes, ad. illustr. doct. de canone V. T. ex Philone p. 28 et 29. Eichhorn, Einl. I. § 26, ff.

the writings of Philo. Strictly speaking, however, there is no proper sense in which one can speak of canonical writings as only used *privatim;* it is a contradictio in adjecto. Besides, why in the case of the Alexandrians of all others should we suppose such a contrast between private opinion and open avowal? By this they would have fallen under the same, nay, under a greater reproach, as not really belonging to the Jews, and this was what they especially sought to avoid.

In proceeding to consider the fortunes of the Canon among the Jews of Palestine in the period before Christ, we have next to consider certain differences as to the extent of the canonical literature, which arose not within the orthodox party in Judea, but among certain sects which were Judaic only in pretence. The first of these that offers itself is the *Samaritans*, whose so-called canon consists solely of the Pentateuch, and a peculiar form of the book of Joshua. The characteristics of the Samaritan Pentateuch point to Egypt for its origin. The close analogy of the Alexandrian and Samaritan editions of the Pentateuch can be explained in hardly any other way than by the fact that through means of the multitude of Samaritans who, from the time of Alexander, were in Egypt, the Alexandrian recension of the Pentateuch had been conveyed to their countrymen in Palestine.[1] But it would appear that something more than this had passed from the Alexandrians to the Samaritans, viz., an *opinion* respecting the Pentateuch adopted to an extreme by the latter. Under the influence of a leaning towards the heathen doctrine of mysteries (cultivated especially by the philosophers of Alexandria) on the part of the Alexandrian Jews, attention was early directed to Moses and his writings as the oldest documents of their nation; he was placed on a parallel with Orpheus, Linus, and other heroes of heathen antiquity, and represented as the founder of the mysteries, and as himself initiated in all divine secrets. As early as in the fragments of Aristobulus (in the second century before Christ) we may detect the beginning of this mode of interpretation;[2] but it is in the writings of Philo that we find it displayed in all its completeness.[3] Now the fact that the Samaritans excluded all the other

[1] See the admirable Essay on the Samaritan Pentateuch in Tholuck's Literar. Anzeiger 1833, No. 39, s. 309.

[2] Comp. Euseb. Praep., Evang. viii. 10; xiii. 10; Clem. Alex., Strom. i. p. 342 ed. Potter.

[3] See Planck (the younger) De principiis et causis interpret. Philon. allegor, Gott. 1806, p. 20.

books of Scripture from their canon, shows how much they had imbibed such views; to which, indeed, from their heathen origin, and from being then the rivals of the Jews, they would be the more inclined. This is still further shown by the way in which they spoke of the prophetical and other Scriptural books. Thus in the Samaritan Chronicle of Abul-Fatach (a work of the fourteenth century) we are told that these books are utterly useless, and that the Law being wholly perfect is sufficient, and reference is made to Deut. iv. 2 (see Paulus, Neues Repertorium I. 136). Similar, nay still stronger, assertions occur in the passages collected by Gesenius (De Pentateuchi Samar. orig. ind. de auct. comm. p. 4), who very justly remarks: "Cave vero, ne haec omnia pro recentioribus demum Samaritanorum inventis habeas. Non enim dubitandum, hanc sectam veterum institutorum admodum tenacem in his secutam esse opiniones a primis statim ejus conditoribus instillatas."

One can easily conceive how such a germ might have been propagated among the Jews; how for instance the Sadducees, a sect which had entirely fallen away from orthodox Judaism, might have embraced false views as to the canonical writings of their nation, and in this respect manifested their sceptical, free-thinking bias. But of this we possess no historical evidence. For the assertions of the Fathers (see the passages in Drusius, Syntagma de tribus sectis Jud. l. iii. c. 9) are here of no value, as these proceed from their confounding the Samaritans and Sadducees. In the New Testament we have no hints of their rejecting the Prophets and the Hagoigrapha; Matt. xxii. 23, ff., cannot be adduced as intimating this. As little does Jesephus attest this when he says (Antiqq. XVIII. 1. 4): *φυλακῆς δὲ οὐδαμῶν τινῶν μεταποίησις αὐτοῖς ἢ τῶν νόμων*, for here he is speaking of their esteeming the Mosaic writings, not to the exclusion of the other Old Testament writings, but in opposition to the traditions of the Pharisees, as is clear from what he adds: *πρὸς γὰρ τοὺς διδασκάλους σοφίας, ἣν μετίασιν, ἀμφιλογεῖν ἀρετὴν ἀριθμοῦσι*. With this the other passage of Josephus is in exact accordance (Ant. XIII. 10. 6): *νόμιμα πολλά τινα παρέδοσαν τῷ δήμῳ οἱ φαρισαῖοι ἐκ πατέρων διδαχῆς ἅπερ οὐκ ἀναγέγραπται ἐν τοῖς Μωυσέως νόμοις καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ταῦτα τὸ Σαδδουκαίων γένος ἐκβάλλει, λέγον ἐκεῖνα δεῖν ἡγεῖσθαι νόμιμα τὰ γεγραμμένα, τὰ δ'*

ἐκ παραδόσεως πατέρων μὴ τηρεῖν, from which it is clear that they received all that was committed to writing, the Scriptures of the Old Testament, whilst they rejected the comments and additions of the Pharisees. The most convincing evidence, however, against the supposition that the Sadducees had swerved from their deference to the sacred writings is found in the fact, attested by both the New Testament and Josephus, that they no less than the Pharisees discharged theocratic functions, which could hardly have happened in the case supposed. Even for the opinion held by some scholars (as Paulus, Comment. üb. d. Evangel. I. s. 196), that among the Sadducees there was an especial estimation of the Pentateuch over the other Scriptures, to the effect that the former was alone decisive in matters of faith, no historical evidence can be adduced. The special estimation of the Pentateuch was rather a common than a distinctive mark of the two parties.

It is otherwise with the question of the Canon among the *Essenes*. The connection of this sect with Judaism was altogether more loose and outward, as is shown by the circumstance that, whilst they sent free-will offerings to the temple, they presented no sacrifices there (Joseph. Ant. XVIII. 1). Their relation also to Heathenism, especially to the Mysteries of the Heathen (the Eleusinia), has been placed beyond doubt by the remarks of Creuzer in his Symbolik, Th. IV. s, 362, 382, 403, ff. Their leaning to Heathenism, however, was of such a kind that they assimilated whatever was most spiritual and significant in it, and hence we may infer that in regard to Judaism their position was not that of cold, intellectual negation, but rather that of persons who attempted to combine it with the more vital elements of Heathenism. It is unquestionable that they received the writings of the Jews. Of the *Therapeutae*, who, though not identical with the Essenes, were yet closely allied to them, we are assured by Philo that they received the collected canonical integral parts of the Old Testament, (p. 601 ed. Colon.), and also of the Essenes he says, p. 679 : ἀλείπτως χρώμενοι τοῖς πατρίοις νόμοις, and, immediately after, that they every Sabbath read out of the Scripture; at least such seems to be the meaning of the expression ὁ μὲν τὰς βίβλους ἀναγινώσκει, &c., for in the context Philo says that they interpreted these books allegorically (τὰ γὰρ πλεῖστα διὰ συμβόλων . . . . . παρ' αὐτοῖς φιλοσοφεῖται), and he affirms the same thing of the

Therapeutae (p. 691 : *ἐντυγχάνοντες τοῖς ἱερωτάτοις γράμμασι φιλοσοφοῦσι τὴν πάτριον φιλοσοφίαν ἀλληγοροῦντες*), the one passage being illustrative of the other. But, besides the scriptural books, they possessed also other sacred writings, and these, according to the character of the sect, were of three kinds: 1. *τὰ τῶν παλαιῶν συγγράμματα*, as Josephus calls them (de B. Jud. II. 8. 7), and Philo also (p. 691) ; these were probably apocryphal productions ascribed to famous men of earlier times, as may be gathered from what Philo says : *ἐστὶ δὲ αὐτοῖς τὰ συγγράμματα τῶν παλαιῶν ἀνδρῶν οἳ τῆς αἱρέσεως ἀρχηγέται γενόμενοι πολλὰ μνημεῖα . . . ἀπέλιπον, οἷς καθάπερ τισὶν ἀρχετύποις χρώμενοι, &c.* 2. As they had prophets among them[1] (of which Josephus gives a remarkable instance, Ant. XV. 10), they preserved the writings, the oracles, and the wise sayings of them ; comp. Joseph. de B. Jud. II. 8 : *εἰσὶ δὲ ἐν αὐτοῖς οἱ καὶ μέλλοντα προγινώσκειν ὑπισχνοῦνται βιβλίοις ἱεραῖς, καὶ διαφόροις ἁγνείαις καὶ προφητῶν ἀποφθέγμασιν ἐμπαιδοτριβούμενοι.* 3. Finally, they had sacred songs, *ὕμνοι, εὐχαί*, with which, after the manner of the heathen (Creuzer s. 409, ff.), they hailed the rising sun. Josephus, indeed, calls these songs, *πατρίους εὐχάς* (de B. Jud. II. 8. 4) but in that case there must have been recompositions and also new ones expressly written by them (*ποιοῦσιν ἄσματα καὶ ὕμνους εἰς τὸν θεόν*, Philo, p. 691), and the same writer, p. 697, distinguishes expressly two classes of hymns, old and new, and gives a description of their artificial rythmical structure.—All these writings taken together constituted a whole, as appears from Josephus de Bell. Jud. II. 8. 7, where it is stated that they bound themselves *συντηρήσειν ὁμοίως τὰ τῆς αἱρέσεως αὐτῶν βιβλία.*

§ 14. TESTIMONY OF THE NEW TESTAMENT RESPECTING THE OLD TESTAMENT CANON.

We thus see that the Canon of the Old Testament, as it was fixed at the time of its formation, was throughout recognised by the orthodox Jews, and even by the heretical secessions, up to the time of Christ. The next enquiry of importance respects the judg-

1 Also in Eleusis the chief of the priests was called, by way of eminence, *προφητης*, Creuzer s. 482.

ment pronounced upon the Canon so constituted in the New Testament. This question is not purely historical; it is also dogmatical. History can only show the condition of the Canon at that time; the mode in which our Saviour treated it, by recognising it, gives it, from the peculiarity of his person as the truth itself, a new stamp of truth. The Canon of the Old Testament is thus placed in a closer connection with the acknowledgment or rejection of the Saviour; to those who receive the Lord as what he announced Himself to be, his witness becomes impregnable, sacred truth; his recognition of the Canon possesses infallibility.

According to our Lord's express declarations, his person and appearance were the fulfilling of all Scripture. His whole life attested this truth. In his person, even to the minutest details, we find Scripture fulfilled. Scripture formed the foundation of his teaching; with this he confounded his foes; with this he encouraged his disciples. For this purpose the whole Canon of the Old Testament, as it existed among the Jews of his day, was called into use by him, as the fountain of these divine revelations, without his intimating that any part of it was not genuine. He carefully discriminated the παραδόσεις of the Pharisees, and their δόγματα ἄγραφα, as mere ἐντάλματα ἀνθρώπων, from the *divine* injunctions of Scripture, Matt. xv. 3, ff. He frequently, in citing the Old Testament, makes use of the received expression among the Jews as a designation of the whole αἱ γραφαί (Matt. xxi. 42, xxii. 29; Mark xii. 24; John v. 39), or ἡ γραφή, John x. 35, xvii. 12. He also calls the Old Testsment—naming it *a potiori*—ὁ νόμος[1] especially in contradistinction to the gospel of New Covenant (John x. 34; Matt. xii. 34; xv. 25); or inasmuch as also the promise is contained in the Old Covenant, ὁ νόμος καὶ οἱ προφῆται (Matt. xi. 13), or simply οἱ προφῆται (Luke xviii. 31). The choice of these expressions is not to be regarded as arbitrary, nor are they to be explained merely by certain formulae current among the Rabbins; they rather stand in each case in close connection with our Lord's discourse, and are never arbitrarily used. The most precise description, however, of the Canon given by our Lord occurs in Luke xxiv. 44: δεῖ πληρωθῆναι πάντα τὰ γεγραμμένα ἐν τῷ νόμῳ Μωϋ-

1 How this name came to have this wider meaning is shown by Jarchi on Ps. xxxi. 23. Surenhusii Βιβλ. Καταλλ. p. 42, sq. Hottinger, Thes. Phil. p. 315, Waehner Antiq. Hebr. i. 8.

σέως καὶ προφήταις καὶ ψαλμοῖς περὶ ἐμοῦ. Even the threefold division of the Canon here shows only the more clearly how the Saviour regarded the Canon in its whole extent as a holy book It is the πᾶσαι αἱ γραφαί, Luke xxiv. 27, and αἱ γραφαί, xxiv. 45, as the Evangelist expresses himself in the same chapter, that are this. In this respect nothing can be more arbitrary than from the expression ψαλμός to infer that the whole of Scripture was not intended here by Christ,[1] though even Schleiermacher deduces something like this from this expression (Christ. Gl. II. 382). Certainly it is proper to ask why such an expression should be used to designate the third class of the Old Testament writings. Among the Rabbins this mode of citing it is very rare (comp. Berachoth, fol. 22); and usually it is accounted for from the fact that the book of Psalms was the first in the Hagiographa (so Hengstenberg recently, Beiträge, s. 29) But this is to assign a purely arbitrary reason, and one which does not take into view the Hellenistic *usus loquendi* which is here to be especially considered. In this it was preferred to call this portion ὕμνοι, as is done by Philo (de vit. cont. p. 691, ed. Colon.) and Josephus (cont. Ap. i. 8), because it contains the poetical portions of Scripture, by which it is distinctively characterised from the other parts, and because in this way it was made to sustain an analogy to the holy hymns so common among the Greeks (comp. Arrian de Exped. Alexand. IV. 11. 3: ὕμνοι μὲν ἐς τοὺς θεοὺς ποιοῦνται, ἔπαινοι δὲ ἐς ἀνθρώπους). For this they came to use in a synonymous sense the word ψαλμοί, though of more comprehensive meaning with the Hellenists, for which Josephus uses ᾠδαί and μέλη (comp. 1 Cor. xiv. 26; Jos. Antiqq. VI. 14: προσέταξε τῷ ψαλμῷ καὶ τοῖς ὕμνοις ἐξᾴδειν αὐτόν. Arch. X. 5, μέλος θρηνητικόν. VIII. 2 (Solomon) συνετάξατο δὲ καὶ βιβλίον περὶ ᾠδῶν καὶ μελῶν). The full description of these would be some such expression as Josephus uses, c. Ap. i. 8, ὕμνους εἰς τὸν θεὸν, καὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ὑποθήκας τοῦ βίου περιέχουσιν: but nothing is more conceivable than that such abbreviations as those should be used where there was no risk of missing the sense.

This same mode of treating the Old Testament Canon we find

[1] The most frivolous notion is that of Cellerier, Introd. p. 367, who concludes hence that, "La plupart des hagiographes etaient moins connus et moins importants que la loi et les prophetes." No better is that of Bretschneider, who thinks "that he (Christ) nowhere says that he held the whole Old Testament for revealed," &c. (Dogm. i. 81.).

among the apostles; to them also the whole Old Testament is a book containing holy and divine revelations, and leading to Christ; comp. *e. gr.* 1 Cor. xv. 3, 4. Hence they call it γραφαὶ ἅγιαι, Rom. i. 2, and ἱερὰ γράμματα, 2 Tim. iii. 15; the former with a special reference to its relation to God the Holy Spirit, who as such reveals himself in the Old Testament, the latter with especial reference to human worship, the acknowledgment by men of these divine revelations.[1] In respect of the former, the scripture is inspired of God (θεόπνευστος, 2 Pet. i. 21; 1 Pet. i. 11, ff.); in respect of the latter it is ἡ παλαιὰ διαθήκη, the document containing the Covenant entered into between God and man (2 Cor. iii. 14, where the apostle is speaking of *writings*, as the word ἀναγνώσει shows), and especially of the Pentateuch, the basis of the old covenant (comp. Exod. xxiv. 7; xxxiv. 27, 28, βίβλος τῆς διαθήκης, 2 Kings xxiii. 2, LXX.; Sir. xxiv. 23; 1 Macc. i. 57.)[2]

Justly, therefore, may we conclude that the Old Testament, as we have it, possessed the full sanction of the New Testament. Independent of this, we have seen the agency of prophets and men of God in the collection of these writings; and the recognition of the sacred literature as resulting from this, according to the divine will. This fact bears a remarkable relation to that now before us; inasmuch as it is through the latter that the former, as an act of God's love to his people, appears in its great design. If the Old Covenant is to be viewed as preparatory, as the παιδαγωγὸς εἰς Χριστόν, beyond all question there required to be divine witnesses to declare Him who is the chief object of the Old Testament to be such for the confirmation of his disciples, and the confutation of his foes. And so it came to pass in word and deed in the fulness of the times, by the second recognition of the writings of the Old Covenant. Then first were fully manifested the excellence of these testimonies, and the grace of Him under whose protection they had been preserved.

1 On the distinction between ἱερός and ἅγιος, sacer and sanctus. See Stephani Thes. Gr. ed. Hase. tom. I. p. 825. Ἱερὰ γράμματα occurs also in Jos. Ant. X. x. 4. ἱρώτατα γράμματα in Philo l. c.

2 Bertholdt, Einl. I. 41, would extend this to the collective writings of the Old Testament, but erroneously. It is expressely said, ver. 15, as an explanation ἡνίκα ἀναγινώσκεται Μωϋσῆς. It is on this, moreover, that the name *Testamentum* (= foedus, "pactum viventium," Hieron. in Matt. c. 2) used by Tertullian, adv. Marc. iv. 1, rests, for which *instrumentum* was also used, the proper designation of the codex of the Holy Scriptures. (Augustin. de. civ. Dei xx. 4.)

§ 15. HISTORY OF THE OLD TESTAMENT CANON IN THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH.

The first Christians used to read the Old Testament writings as well as those of the New in their Church assemblies, and that from a deep conviction of the divine revelations contained in them. "We love the prophets," says Ignatius, Ep. ad Philad. c. 5, "for they also announce the Gospel."[1] "Which shall we believe," asks Irenæus, Adv. Haer. II. 2, "the heretics who speak absurdly and contradict themselves, or the disciples of the Lord and Moses, his true servants and prophets?" We find also that it is chiefly upon Old Testament passages that the Fathers rest their proofs of dogmas. (Comp. Credner, Lib. cit. p. 26, ff.)[2]

The Fathers commonly divide the Old Testament into Law and Prophets, as they do the New into *εὐαγγέλιον* and *ἀπόστολος*. Irenæus is the first who applies the term Canon to the sacred writings.[3] This title, borrowed from the New Testament (Gal. vi. 16), has reference to the doctrines, the divine revelations in these books. *Κανών* is equivalent to *βίβλοι τοῦ κανόνος*, and denotes those books in which the true religion is to be found, the alone and supreme criterion of faith, denominated by way of pre-eminence THE RULE.[4]

It was unfortunate for the early church in reference to their treatment of the Old Testament, that their ignorance of Hebrew compelled so many of them to read it exclusively in the Alexandrian

1 Comp. the Letter to Diognetus c. 11, and Hug, Einl. ins N. T. I. 118, 3te Ausg.

2 It is certainly not satisfactory, to say the least, to affirm with Schleiermacher (Lib. cit. p. 381), that this usage in the Church arose principally from the fact, that Christ had read the Old Testament in the Synagogues, and that this custom was followed while as yet the writings of the New Testament were not collected (though in existence!), whence the erroneousness of an equal homiletical use of the Old and New Testament would follow. But if history be asked, it will be found that the dogmatical interest was evidently what determined this usage.

3 Iren. ad. Haer. iii. 11: regulam fidei (*κανόνα τῆς ἀληθείας*.) Irenæus is speaking here immediately of the Gospel of John; but doubtless this expression was used also of the other holy books. Comp. Isidor. Pelus. Epist. 114: *ὅτι δὲ ταῦτα οὕτως ἔχει τὸν κανόνα τῆς ἀληθείας, τὰς θείας φημὶ γραφὰς κατοπτεύσωμεν.*

4 Theodoret, on Gal. vi. 16, explains the word by *διδασκαλία*, Oecumenius by *διδαχή*. Comp. in general the excellent Essay of H. Planck, "Nonnulla de significatu canonis in ecclesia antiqua ejusque serie rectius constituenda," in the Comment. Theol. of Rosenmüller, &c., I. p. 208, sq.

version. Gentile Christians were thus deprived of any acquaintance with the proper Jewish Canon, and hence critical mistakes became at least very *possible*. From the conviction produced by the controversies of the Fathers with the Jews, that the latter had vitiated the text of the Holy Scriptures, and the consequent distrust in the genuineness of the Canon thus produced,[1] such mistakes were rendered almost inevitable. People were thus readily led to regard the Apocryphal books of the Old Testament written in Greek as canonical. Critical inquiry was the less earnestly and searchingly directed to this subject from the circumstance that it was not with our extant Apocrypha that the oldest controversies in the Church had to do, but with writings issuing from the Gnostic sects, and reverenced by them as the sources of their mystic wisdom. These were called *ἀπόκρυφα* by way of eminence, and hence this word was taken in the sense of *heretical* compositions. They formed a principal object of ecclesiastical polemics, and a damnatory sentence was passed on them, along with the doctrines of their author.

It was in the Eastern Church that most pains were bestowed on the settling of the Jewish Canon. Of great value in this respect is a document preserved to us by Eusebius, Hist. Eccl. IV. 26. Melito Bishop of Sardis (towards the end of the second century) made a journey to Palestine, and there instituted searching inquiries concerning the Old Testament books (*ἀκριβῶς μαθὼν τὰ τῆς παλαίας διαθήκης βίβλια*). He made a catalogue of them, with extracts from them, concerning which he writes a letter to one Onesimus which Eusebius has preserved to us. From this it is quite evident how, in the uncertainty which then prevailed among the Christians as to the constituent parts of the Old Testament Canon, there was along with this an earnest purpose, by reverting to the original sources as supplying the only decisive rule in such

1 Justin especially expresses himself to this effect in his Dialogue with Trypho. Comp. Zastraw, loc. cit. p. 29, sqq.

2 Tertullian de anima c. 2. Penes nos *apocryphorum* confessione *damnantur*. See Gieseler in the Stud. u. Krit. 1829. H. I., s. 143. I observe here further that the word *ἀπόκρυφος* is commonly viewed as a translation of the Hebrew גנוזים (see *e. gr.* Hug. l. c. 119). But more correctly its origin is due to the heathen usage of speech, whence so much besides was borrowed by the Gnostics. In the heathen mysteries the *κρυπτά* libri absconditi, played a very important part; see St Croix, Recherches sur les mysteres ii. p. 11 and 56, ed. De Sacy.

a case, to arrive at fixed results on this head. One thing, however, in this catalogue is startling—the omission of the Books of Nehemiah and Esther. It appears to me most probable that this omission is attributable merely to a difference from our mode of reckoning the Old Testament books. Melito counted Esther and Nehemiah as forming with Ezra one internally connected whole, as indeed had been already done in the ancient arrangement of the Talmudists, where they follow one another, and are connected together (comp. Tr. Bava Bathra fol: 14. 2).[1] In like manner the account of what passed between Origen and Julius Africanus (see Neander, Church Hist. Vol. ii. p. 509, Eng. Trans.) shows how to a few of the more profound inquirers the truth in this department did not remain hid, but how, on the other hand, the common use in the Church of the Apocrypha had its influence upon the opinion of even so independent a critic as Origen. Nevertheless the Canon of Origen, which is preserved by Eusebius, H. E. VI. 25, is composed with reference to Jewish tradition (ὡς Ἑβραῖοι παραδιδόασαν), and is in unison with the Canon of the Jews; for the omission of the δωδεκαπρόφητον is merely a mistake of the transcriber, as it is found in the translation of Ruffinus. The only point that requires notice is the clause Ἱερεμίας σὺν θρήνοις καὶ τῇ ἐπιστολῇ, that is the letter of Jeremiah extant in the Book of Baruch ch. vi. Origen could hardly obtain this from the Jews,[2] whose traditions he only in the general followed, but was led into the error by the practice of the Church, which from an early period received Baruch as a production of Jeremiah.[3] Thus it was that Origen, who in theory makes some admirable remarks on canonical and apocryphal writings (comp. Planck, loc. cit. p. 215), was led in practice to waver in his judgment of certain writings. (Münscher, l. c. s. 206, ff.) So also among the later Fathers, we find the just distinction between canonical, apocryphal, and pseudepigraphic writings; of which the last were wholly rejected as heretical,[4] the first were alone regarded as truly in-

[1] For similar reasons the book of Esther is also wanting in the catalogue given by Gregory Nazianz. Opp. ii. 98, and Athanasius Epist Festal. Opp. i. 961; ed Benedict.

[2] As Münscher Dogmen. Gesch. i. 205, and Bertholdt s. 93, think.

[3] Comp. for instance Irenæus adv. haer. v. 35: "significavit Jeremias propheta" (Bar. iv. 36).

[4] The name ψευδεπίγραφα occurs in Cyrill. catech. iv. 36: τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ ψευδεπίγραφα καὶ βλαβερὰ τυγχάνει.

spired,[1] and the second, called *ἀναγινωσκόμενα*, were in accordance with ancient usage read in the Church, without being respected as inspired.[2] But this division was dangerous for the mass and even to theologians, for in the Laodicean Canon (see on this Bickell Stud. und Krit. 1830, s. 591—614) we find sanctioned as canonical *Ἱερεμίας, Βαρούχ, θρῆνοι καὶ ἐπιστολή* (in the so-called Isidorian version we find only Jeremiah). Thus, in course of time, uncertainty as to what was canonical and what apocryphal crept into the Canon, and *v. gr.* in the Canones Apostolici, which was produced in the course of the 5th century, the three books of Maccabees (whether Judith also is uncertain) are ranked among the canonical writings (cf. Coteler, Pat. Apost. I. 448).[3]

The Western Church was still less scrupulous about the Apocrypha, especially after the time of Augustine. What was decided on this head by the Council at Hippo in the year 393 is uncertain; for what we possess, in the collections, of the ordinances of this Council is so contradictory that it excites distrust as to its originality.[4] But the Synods of Carthage, the 3rd An. 397 and the 6th An. 419, (Mansi, Concil. Collect. III. 891), pronounced the greater part of our present Apocrypha (viz. Tobit, Judith, Wisdom, Sirach, two books of Maccabees) canonical. Nevertheless Jahn is perfectly correct when he says (I. 138) that these declarations are to be understood as intimating nothing more than that in these books there is nothing injurious to faith or morals, and that, consequently, they are not to be banished from the Church, but are to be read as instructive and edifying writings. A comment on these declarations is furnished by Augustine's expressions which exercised a great influence upon them. Augustine, however, though already he had in general discriminated between canonical, *i.e.* read in the Churches, and apocryphal or heretical (chiefly Manichæan) writings (De civit. Dei XV. 23; cont. Faust. XXII. 79), nevertheless distinguishes again among the

1 Comp. Theodoret, Praef. ad Cant. Cant.: *τοῦτο τὸ βιβλίον ταῖς θείαις γραφαῖς συντεταχότες, καὶ ἅτε δὴ πνευμάτικα, κανονίσαντες αὐτό*, etc.

2 Athanas. Ep. ad Rufin: *οὐκ κανονιζόμενα μὲν, τετυπόμενα δὲ παρὰ τῶν πατέρων ἀναγινώσκεται τοῖς ἄρτι προσερχομένοις καὶ βουλομένοις κατηχεῖσθαι τὸν τῆς ἀληθείας λόγον.* Planck, loc. cit. p. 216, sqq.

3 On the Syriac Canon, see ch. iv. Of the Syriac translations.

4 Comp. the writings adduced by Walch, Gesch. der Kirchenversamml. s. 240

canonical books, inasmuch as he, partially at least, confesses that the apocryphal writings, included among the canonical, were not received by all, and he repeatedly expresses doubt as to their internal worth, as to their inspiration.[1] But in any case Augustine furnishes no certain opinion as to individual books, and from the decision of the synods it does not appear that any distinction was made by them among the so-called *libri Canonici;* so that their being placed together must have had in this case even a worse effect than it had on the more discriminating orientals.

Jerome regarded this subject from a much surer point of view, and his services in regard to it are much greater than his church, alas! is even yet disposed to acknowledge. He rightly judged that for the determination of the Canon it was needful to revert to the genuine Jewish Canon, in order to know what books should be received into the New Testament as canonical, and here his studies and his connection with Jews peculiarly assisted him. In his estimation, that is alone canonical which is a writing inspired by God, and on which the dogmas of the Church are to be founded; all besides he regards as apocryphal.[2] Regardless of what the Church of his day fixed on this head (see his Prolog. in Judith), he holds firmly by this distinction, applies it unflinchingly, and decides accordingly. His Prologus Galeatus affords the best view of his critical procedure. After he has strictly determined the twenty-two books of the Hebrew Canon, he expresses himself thus: "Quicquid extra hos est, inter apocrypha ponendum." The Church may, he says, continually read them "ad aedificationem plebis," only they must not be used "ad auctoritatem ecclesiasticorum dogmatum confirmandam."

At a later period this opposition of opinions, represented by two distinguished Fathers of the Church, led to a division of parties, according as the one or the other view was followed. The Carthaginian decision was adopted by the Romish Church in consequence of its being ratified by a Roman Council under Gelasius I. in the year 494.[3] Cassiodorus had such reverence for both opinions that

1 Comp. Marheinecke, Symbolik i. 2, p. 231, ff. Clausen, Aur. Augustin. s. s. interpres. p. 40, sq.

2 Comp. Gieseler, loc. cit. s. 144. Marheinecke, s. 233.

3 Harduin Act. Concil. ii. 937. The fact nevertheless is not duly ascertained; see Walch lib. cit. 828.

he inserts the one after the other, with the remark that the difference between them is not great (De Inst. Div. Litter. c. 12—14). With Gregory the Great the opinion of Jerome seems to have had such weight that he declares the first book of Maccabees not canonical (Moral. in Job. lit. xix. c. 13). Of the capricious judgments into which this diversity sometimes led later writers, we have one instance in Junilius, who places Sirach among the canonical books, and enumerates Chronicles, Job, Esther, Judith, Nehemiah, the two books of the Maccabees, Canticles, and the Wisdom of Solomon, as those respecting which there is doubt.[1] The same dubiety continued till a later period, as the work of Notker, an abbot of St Gall's, on the most famous interpreters of Scripture, a work of the tenth century, shows; where he classes the Wisdom of Solomon, Sirach, Judith, Esther, and Chronicles together, and expresses doubts of their canonicity (Rosenmüller, Hist. Interp. Libb. sacer. v. 143, sq.) Of especial interest are the observations of Nicolaus de Lyra (died 1340) de Libris Bibliæ Canonicis et non-canonicis (Rosenmüller, lib. cit. p. 285, sq.) Many, he says, no longer recognise this distinction; they regard all the writings "pari veneratione," and are vexed if any distinguish between them. He repeats the decision of Jerome, and gives the following definition: Canonici sunt confecti spiritu sancto dictante; non canonici autem sive apocryphi nescitur, quo tempore quibusve auctoribus sint editi. He has nothing, however, to object against the reading in church of the latter, and calls them "valde bonos et utiles," with the remark, "nihil in eis quod canonicis obviet, invenitur."

§ 16. CATHOLIC AND PROTESTANT CANON.

It thus appears that there were not wanting witnesses in the Catholic Church itself from the middle ages, which might have guided it aright in its judgment upon the Canon. But it was, in the first instance, the blindest hatred against the Protestants which led the Church of Rome to adopt the most arbitrary decisions in order to be as much as possible opposed to them, and then further it was the consciousness of the ecclesiastical authority by which the Canon first became a Canon, that induced the Council

1 De partib. leg. div. i. 3—7. Comp. Muenscher, iii. 88, ff.

of Trent to the insolent decision: "Si quis libros integros cum omnibus suis partibus prout in ecclesia catholica legi consueverunt et in veteri vulgata latina editione habentur pro sacris et canonicis non susceperit, anathema sit (Sess. IV. c. 1). To the anathema was appended the index sacorum librorum, "ne cui dubitatio suboriri possit, quinam sint qui ab ipsa synodo suscipiuntur." The synod does not here certainly fall back upon tradition, though the testimonies of the Fathers bearing on this point were not unknown to it (see Marheinecke, s. 236); it contents itself with referring to the use and wont in the Church in the matter of reading [Scripture], with which in its proper relation there is no controversy, and the authority of the Vulgate, which is in this way set forth in its full extent as a canonically authentic book. Some later Catholic theologians[1] have attempted to show that the synod recognised tacitly in their decision the distinction amongst the canonical writings made by Augustine, and that consequently there is a division to be made in accordance with this of the books into proto-canonical and deutero-canonical writings. But had this been the case there would have been an unavoidable necessity for referring to the testimonies of the Fathers; the weightiest element of decision would be relinquished, and that the more conspicuously from the synod's referring to something else for support of its assertion. Further, the opposition to the Protestants here is unmistakeable, and hence it can hardly be supposed that the declaration of the synod could be one which amounts substantially to what was the opinion of Luther. In fine, the expression "sacris" leaves us without the least doubt as to what they intended by *canonical*, and completely supersedes the external definition which some might be disposed to find in the word "canonicis."

But the opposition between the Catholic and Protestant[2] Canons has a deeper root than in this outward determination of the books inserted in each.[3] It is from a careful discrimination of what is divine from what is human, and from the specific enunciation of

1 Comp. Jahn, Einl. i. 140, ff., and the works cited by him. It is remarkable that Möhler (Symbolik, s. 381, 4te Ausg.) has virtually overlooked this point.

2 With which that of the Greek Church agrees; comp. Metrophanis Critopuli conf. c. 7.

3 As was very clearly shown by Chemnitz, Exam. Concil. Trident. i, p. 49, sq.

this,[1] that God is the highest authority for the faith of men, that Protestantism proceeds; not conversely. On God's word, therefore, as inspired by the Holy Ghost is the Church founded; and her authority rests solely and wholly on it; not conversely (Eph. ii. 20). The Church is thus only the guardian and transmitter of the divine revelations, the channel through which we have received them, and the historical witness for the Canon.[2] So also it is the original Author of the Word, the Holy Ghost, who operates in the Church and through the Word. In consequence of this internal connection of the Spirit with the Word, it must evince itself to be *His* work, and give testimony to its author. The same Spirit works in us faith in its truth, and seals that in our hearts by a demonstration surpassing all human testimony. The authority of Scripture, therefore, as the supreme rule of our faith, carries us back to God, and depends from him. This has consequently been already expressed in the Gallican (Confession) thus: "hos libros agnoscimus esse *canonicos*, id est ut fidei nostrae normam et regulam habemus; idque non tantum ex communi ecclesiae consensu sed etiam multo magis ex testimonio et intrinseca Spiritus S. persuasione: quo suggerente docemur illos ab aliis libris ecclesiasticis discernere, qui, ut sint utiles, non sunt tamen ejusmodi, ut ex iis constitui possit aliquis fidei articulus" (p. 111, ed. Augusti). In like manner the Conf. Belg. p. 172.

It was consequently the firm dogmatic conviction of the altogether peculiar worth of the holy Scriptures, and their relation to the Church, which led the Protestants to reject the Apocrypha; their criticism was in this matter guided by the humblest submission to the divine word, and by a believing acknowledgment of it. With regard to the Old Testament this criticism was the more easily exercised since they had only to betake themselves to the Hebrew Codex (comp. Conf. Thorun. p. 414) to find the truth; thus far they had the authority of Christ and his Apostles entirely with them, hence the sure concurrence with which all the Protestant symbols, so unlike the vacillating utterances of former centuries,

1 Comp. Calvin, Inst. i. 7; Heidegger. corp. theol. christ. i. p. 23, sq. Gerhard, loci theol. ii. p. 36, sq. ed. Cotta, et Al.

2 Ecclesia suo testimonio confirmat, qui libri sint vere θεόπνευστοι, a Deo sibi traditi et proinde canonici Gerhard, l. cit.

determined the Canon of the Old Testament—the Lutheran it is true rather in effect (comp. Bretschneider, Dogm. i. 222), but the Reformed in part expressly (see the Anglican, Gallican, and Belgican Confessions).

CHAPTER SECOND.

HISTORY OF THE ORIGINAL LANGUAGES OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

§ 17. OBJECT DEFINED.

In contradistinction to the (one-sided) *purely empirical* (which simply gathers together materials in the form of a compilation) and the *simply philosophical* (*a priori*) method, each language must be treated *historically; i.e.* as rooted in historical soil, and as organically developing itself in a historico-progressive manner. Only herein lies the just reconciliation of speculation and empiricism, and only thus can a genuine scientific investigation of a language be conducted. It is only by this means that the objectively given commencement of the language is held in view, and its character, formed under outward influences, is not mistaken; and at the same time the internal development of the entire language, which essentially agrees with the general, finds due attention. We thus apprehend a double science, but one both parts of which are closely connected with each other—the one of which is occupied with the elements of a language, and from this advances historically to its structure (*Grammar*); the other with the history of a language in general, or rather the history of a people itself, in so far as relates to the history of their language, combined with the history of the preservation of the language after the nation or the language itself became dead. According to § 4 of the Introduction, the latter has place here especially as respects the history of the Hebrew language.

Literature: Br. Walton in Biblia Polyglotta Prolegomena (appeared first in 1657; edited apart by Dathe, Lips., 1777 [and by Wrangham, 2 vols. 8vo., Lond. 1828]; Val. E. Lœscher De causis linguae Hebraeae, 1706 (a remarkable work for its day, composed with much acuteness and rich learning); Clericus, Dissertatio de lingua Hebraica, in the Prolegomena in Pent. p. 1, sqq. Simonis Introd. Gramm. Crit. in ling. Hebr. Hal., 1753; Hetzel, Geschichte der hebräischen Sprache und Literatur. Halle, 1776; Gesenius, Geschichte der hebr. Sprache und Schrift. Leipz. 1815; also his Vorrede z. hebr. Wörterbuch (a new and most ingenious discussion of the whole subject, and application of the recent principles of grammatical investigation to this department; but disfigured by an arbitrary neological criticism, and frequent apodictic assertions, in place of satisfactory proofs and inferences); J. Melch. Hartmann, Anfangsgr. der hebr. Spr. (2te Ausg., 1819); S. 409, ff.; A. Th. Hartmann, Linguist. Einl. in d. A. T. Bremen, 1807 (got up without a proper plan, and the needful criticism, only useful for some things); De Wette's Einl. § 30, ff.; Hoffmann in the Allgem. Encyclop. Abth. II. Th. 3; Ewald, Krit. Gr. d. Heb. Spr. s. 1, ff.

§ 18. ORIENTAL LANGUAGES.

Among the peoples of Hither-Asia lay the root-stem of those languages to which the Hebrew belongs. These are commonly called *oriental*, a name used even by Jerome, and one which may be justified on the ground that these nations inhabited the best known and most important of the Eastern countries. Already older scholars, as the Buxtorfs, propose to assign these languages to the Shemites, on the ground that they, and the Hebrews who sprang from them, taking no part in the building of the tower of Babel, retained the pure primeval language.[1] More recent writers[2] have for another reason, namely, that it is more exact, adopted the

1 See Stange, Theol. Symmikta, i. s. 6.

2 First by Schlœtzer (Repert. f. Bibl. u. Morgenländ. Lit. Th. viii. 161) after him Eichhorn (Allg. Biblioth. d. bib. cit. VI. v. 772, ff., and Gesch. der neuern Sprachenk. I. 403).

name *Semitic languages*, which has been extensively approved of, though also keenly opposed.[1] Certainly this appellation is so far unsuitable, that it pre-supposes that all the Shemites belonged to the same glossological division, whereas the Elamites, who were of the race of Shem (Gen. x. 22), certainly spoke a Persian dialect, whilst certain Hamites, such as the Cushites and Canaanites, spoke the Semitic language. A community of language was by no means the invariable consequence of a common origin among the different tribes, such as they are described in Gen. x. The dispersion of the people also (Gen. xi.) occasioned difference of language and such confusion that the tribes originally allied could no longer understand each other. In this sense the words in Gen. x. 5, 20, 31 (לִלְשֹׁנֹתָם אִישׁ לִלְשׁוֹנוֹ) must be taken, inasmuch as by these words, which anticipate[2] and introduce the narrative in the 11th chapter, the diversity of speech is made to depend upon the dispersion (immediately to be narrated), and by consequence on their geographical position.[3] We prefer, therefore, the appellation *oriental*, as being least liable to misapprehension. Paying respect to geographical position, to which it is necessary to have regard for the linguistic knowledge of the district in which each of the languages bearing a common character was spoken, we shall consider first the dialect of the *North*, or rather the *North-East* of Palestine, the *Aramaic;* next the dialect of the *South*, the *Arabic;* and finally, the *Palestinian*, occupying a middle place both geographically and linguistically between the other two.

§ 19. ARAMAIC LANGUAGE.

The countries in the north of Palestine, stretching from the Tigris to the Taurus, are comprehended in Scripture under the name of *Aram* or *Highland*; their inhabitants, the Ἀραμαῖοι and

[1] See Fischer, Animad. ad. Welleri Gram.; but especially Stange, Lib. cit. and Bd. iii. s. 16, ff. Comp. Jen. Lib. Zeit. 1805, No. 182.

[2] Comp. Ewald, Compos. der Genes. s. 213; Ranke, Untersuch. über den Pentat. s. 184, ff.

[3] Hence apppears how erroneously Gesenius concludes when he says: "Since affinity of language is one of the least fallacious guides to the affinity of peoples, it may be doubted if the author of this ethnological scheme had authority for it," &c. Gesch. d. Heb. Spr. s. 6.

"*Αραμοι* of the ancients, were of different nations (even in Scripture they are distinguished as Aram-Damascus, Padan-Aram, Aram-Geschur,[1] Aram-Zobah, &c.), and they passed historically through the most diversified relations.[2] The common language of these people, in respect of its general character, as it is of all the Semitic dialects the most northerly, so also is it the *harshest* (in place of the softer labials ם, שׁ, צ, it has the *D* and *T* sounds, it does not soften the harsh pronunciation of the liquids by contraction, &c.); the *poorest* (it wants a complete vowel-system, hence as verbal form כָּתַב (heb. כָּתַב) noun-form מָלְכוּ (heb. מֶלֶךְ); it has corresponding with this a scanty conjugation-system; it does not carefully distinguish the formation of the weaker roots, but interchanges the verbs and nouns, לא and לה, פו and פי, &c.; and in general the *least cultivated.*

Already in the Old Testament we find this dialect denominated, in opposition to the Palestinian, the *Aramaic language* (ארמית Is. xxxvi. 11; 2 Kings xviii. 26.) In the time of Isaiah, as appears from the passage just cited, educated Hebrews could speak Aramaic, and conversely educated Aramaeans could speak Hebrew (Is. xxxvi. 4, ff.); whilst the common people understood only their vernacular dialect. The hereditary foe of Israel, the Assyrian, is described by the same prophet as a people of "stammering lip" (לַעֲגֵי שָׂפָה), *i. e.* speaking barbarously,[3] as a people of a foreign language (לָשׁוֹן אַחֶרֶת) xxviii. 11. He reminds his contemporaries of the fearful times of the Assyrian invasion, and speaks of the "dumb beckoning people (*i.e.* which cannot make itself intelligible by speaking), the people of obscure lips, which one cannot understand, of a stammering tongue without intelligibility."[4] Though, as the

1 [This is a mistake; Aram-Geshur nowhere occurs in Scripture, though Geshur is on good grounds believed to have formed part of Aram.—Tr.]

2 See Gesenius, Thes. Ling. Heb. I. 151, Hoffmann, Gram. Syr., p. 1, sq., Winer, Realwörterb. I. 92, ff. [also Kitto's Bib. Cycl. I., p. 197]. From this is to be distinguished the later ecclesiastical and talmudical usage, according to which Aramaeans mean Heathens or Not-Jews. See Hartmann, s. 141; Gesenius l. c. s. 152.

3 So rightly the Syriac version ܠܥܡ̈ܐ ܕܣܡܝܟ̈ܢ, and recently, Gesenius and Hitzig, who might have adduced in their support the usage of the Syr. ܣܡܟ, which Bar Ali expressly explains by *barbare loqui* (see Michaelis on Castell. Lex. Syr. p. 470.)

4 See on this Hitzig. on Is. xxxiii. 19, who rightly explains נֶעְמָק with which we may

æra of the captivity approached, there came to be a greater intercourse with these peoples, the Aramaic remained nevertheless a speech, which, for the most part, the Hebrew people did not understand (Jer. v. 15).

Assyria was the most easterly region in which the Aramaic was spoken. For the meaning given by some of the earlier scholars to the word אַרְמִית, Is. xxxvi. 11, of *Assyrian* (Simonis l. c. p. 286) is opposed to the constant usage of the language. This passage is rather wholly in favour of the opinion we advocate; in support of which, also, may be adduced the fact demonstrated by recent investigations (especially those of Kreuser, Vorfr. üb. Homeros I. 39, ff.), that the old Assyrian *writing* corresponds with that of the peoples of western Asia, a circumstance confirmatory of the hypothesis of a similar affinity of languages. On the other hand, however, from the historical connection of Assyria with peoples of Japhetic language, to wit at an early period with the Medes (see Winer, Realwörterb. I. 117, ff.), there existed there also a Medo-Persian stock of languages, of the closer relations, however, of which to the Semitic we have no exact information. At the utmost we may infer from Gen. x. 10, 11, where Asshur appears as a colony of Babylon, that there the Aramaic was the primal, aboriginal language. But that a Medo-Persic dialect[1] must have intruded on this appears not only from the general historical probability of it, but also from the *proper names* which have come down to us, as well of deities as of kings, which can be explained only from the Persic. Thus the mythologic names, Tartak, Nibchas

compare the Arab. عجم properly *mutus* (see Exc. Ham. p. 511, Schult.), then used to designate the impure, vitiated Arabic dialects, as opposed to the pure Koraitic (comp. Kor. Sur. xxvi. 195, 198, xli. 44), then generally for barbarous, non Arabic tongues (Schultens, Monum. p. 59. Antara Moall. vs. 25. Act. ii. 9. Ar. Polyglott comp. Herbelot, Orient. Bib., and the W. Agem.) The עִבְרִי שִׂפַת and אֵין מְדִינָה comp. with the Arab name لسان عربي مبين (*lingua Arabica perspicua*) of the Koraitic dialects, see Pocock, Spec. hist. Ar. p. 151, comp. also the Arabic برطن *peregrina ac barbara non Arabica lingua locutus est*, undoubtedy allied to برطع *implicavit*, conj. IV. *siluit, taciturnus fuit* (Freytag, Lex. Arab. II., p. 160, 161.)

1 That the Assyrian belonged generally to the Medo-Persian stock, as Gesenius thinks (Gesch. d. Hebr. Spr. s. 63), is thus certainly so far established. In Assyria there existed indeed the same relation as in Babylon; see the foll. §.

(Gesenius on Is. ii. 347, ff.), the proper names, Phul, Tiglath-Pilesar, Salmanassar, Sardanapal, Sanherib, &c. In the etymological definitions of these, however, the greatest circumspection cannot be sufficiently exercised; and the counsel recently uttered by one well skilled in such matters, that only the Old-Persic, the language of the Zend-Avesta should be made use of in this case, deserves to be laid to heart (Olshausen, Emendatt. z. A. T., s. 47). In this inquiry also it is not to be overlooked that many proper names, the only certain remains of the Old-Assyrian, are pure Semitic, such as Adramelech, Annamelech, Rabsakeh, &c.; above all the certainly technical expression סְכוֹת בְּנוֹת (2 Kings xvii. 30; see Hengstenberg, Beitr. s. 160, ff.), for the Assyrian origin of which the anomalous and as yet unexplained form of the latter word speaks (see more on this in next §.)

Proceeding farther to the West, we find Mesopotamia as a district in which Aramaic was spoken. Even from the names *Paddan Aram* (Aram the flat) of Genesis, and *Aram Naharaim*[1] of the Old Testament books, this might be inferred with much probability. Strabo also states (II. c. 58) that the people on both sides of the Euphrates spoke the same dialect; and the same thing is confirmed by positive remains of the dialect used there. Of these the first place is due to that in Genes. xxxi. 49, where Laban the Mesopotamian calls a monument יְגַר שָׂהֲדוּתָא, which Jacob the Hebrew calls גַּלְעֵד. The former form is pure Aramaic (גַּלְעֵד, סְהַדוּתָא), and only the punctuation, to which the שׁ for instance is due, is Hebraistic (comp. De Dieu, crit. sacr. p. 18).—We may here also take account of the lays of the Mesopotamian prophet, Balaam, only that they, as respects their principal characteristics, are Hebraic, and might in this form have actually proceeded from Balaam in consequence of the relation already noticed between the Aramaeans and the Hebrews, especially as their chief design was for Hebrews.[2] It cannot appear strange, that in spite of himself,

1 The ܐܪܡ ܢܗܪܝܢ of the Syrian writers, see Acts ii. 9, Pesch. Assemani Bibl., Or. I. 402.

2 This appears to me more probable than the opinion that they were at a later period translated from the Aramaic into Hebrew, as Hamacker thinks (see Bibl. crit. Nova. Lugd. Bat., 1827, vol. iii., p. 324, sq.) The very Aramaisms which appear in these pass-

some notes of his vernacular dialect should have escaped from the bard; and I believe that I have found several of those, at least more of them than of late some others have been disposed to find.[1] I reckon the following as such: דְּהִתְחַשֵּׁב Num. xxiii. 9, for the common Niphal-form (Ewald, Krit. Gr. s. 205, 213); פַּאֲתֵי xxiv. 17 (Gesenius de Pent. Samar. p. 36); שֵׁת an Aramaic form, comp. שְׁאֵת Lament. iii. 47 (hebr. שָׁאוֹן Jerem. xlviii. 45, where the prophet substitutes for the obscure and foreign word one in pure Hebrew); אוֹבֵד xxiv. 20, 24, comp. with אוֹבָד perditis, Buxtorf. Lex. Chald. Rabb. Talm. p. 7; Winer, Lex. p. 9 (hebr. אַבֶּדֶת, freq. in the Pentateuch);[2] שֵׂתֶם xxiv. 3, 15, for the Heb. פְּתֻחַ (comp. שְׂתָם, *perforavit* Mishna t. IV. ed. Surenhus, and especially ܣܬܡ, *haruspex*, Norberg, Lexid. cod. Nah. p. 264, who, however, erroneously derives it from סְתָם); שׁוּר, in the sense of *look*, xxiii. 9; xxiv. 17 (thus elsewhere only in Job, Hosea, Jeremiah, and Canticles; see more under).[3] In my opinion, also, it is only by supposing an Aramaism that the much-vexed passage xxiv. 23 can be satisfactorily explained: מִי יִחְיֶה מִשֻּׂמוֹ אֵל, for here the words חָיָה מִן cannot, according to the usage of the language, mean anything else than *to revive*, to recover from anything (2 Kings i. 2; viii. 8); and שָׂם is here simply after the Aram. ܣܡ, *wound*, hence *smart, suffering* in general; comp. Castel. Lex. Syr. p. 899, Mich. Norberg, lib.

ages are opposed to this opinion, because in a translation they would have been avoided, also the extremely peculiar form of the whole.

1 Hirzel de Chaldaismi bibl. orig. et auctor. crit. p. 14: "in oraculo Bileami—pauca leguntur vocabula Aramaea."

2 Gesenius, it is true, takes this for a participial form with an abstract signification (Thes. p. 6, Lehrg. s. 488). But his rule is incorrect; see Ewald, s. 237, who consequently would translate אֹבֵד by *Spoiler*. This, however, does not suit the אַחֲרִית of ver. 24, where the meaning plainly is, "His end (goes) even to (utter) destruction."

3 Winer gives the word a threefold fundamentally diverse meaning; but incorrectly. All hang together thus: The ground-meaning is *to arise, to leap forward* (so in Heb. Hos. xiii. 7, comp. in Arab. ثار Monum. p. 24, ed. Schultens), particularly for the sake *of seeing or observing something*. 2. *To spring, to dance* in general (so in Syriac). 3. *To sing* (in dancing). 4. In the enfeebled meaning *to go, to journey* (so in Heb. and Arab.

cit. p. 245. We may translate: "Who can recover from his wound (that inflicted on him), O Almighty?" The expression in xxiv. 17, כּוֹכָב מִיַּעֲקֹב may with justice also be placed in this class, as having reference to astrological science, and hence aptly suiting Mesopotamia (comp. Clericus in loc., and especially Dan. viii. 10, with Creuzer's remarks Symb. Th. III. s. 74, and Th. IV. s. 421, ff.)—Besides these what we have of the language of Mesopotamia is of little importance. The תְּרָפִים, whose worship was undoubtedly indigenous there, according to Genes. xxxi. 19, ff., xxxv. 2, 3, are of very doubtful etymological origin. The few remaining proper names belonging to that region (Beor, Pethor, Balaam, Hazael, Cushan Rishataim,[1] &c.), have little of linguistic importance, as they appear to be hebraistically written.

§ 20. CONTINUATION. LANGUAGE OF BABYLON.

A work written at the time when the Hebrews stood in the nearest relation to Babylon, makes mention of two tongues as indigenous there under the names of *the language of the Chaldees*, Dan. i. 4, and the *Aramaic language*, Dan. ii. 4 (see my Commentary on this book s. 22, ff. and s. 55). We have thus here also a mixed language presented to us, and must endeavour more closely to determine the particulars of each.

1. With reference to the *Chaldaic* language, properly so called, it must have belonged to the Japhetic branch, and have possessed affinities with the Medo-Persian, as appears—i. from the derivation of the Chaldees as a northern people, originating in the district round the Black Sea, and proceeding from the Carduchian mountains adjoining to Armenia, whence they made an inroad upon Babylon, and obtained the supremacy there (Winer, Realwörterb. I. 253, ff.). This assertion would indeed be erroneous, were that of Olshausen well-founded, viz., that such a hypothesis is not capable of historical proof, and that they were rather a Hamitic

1 This last name is especially obscure, and is generally not rightly understood. Gesenius renders it "doubled wickedness," Wörterb. sub. voc. To me it appears an anomalous and foreign word, and to be in affinity with the Arab title ذا الرياستين Praeses utriusque Raisatus (s. regiminis), Abulfeda, Annal. II. p. 100, and Reiske's note thereon, p. 659.

people who had mingled with the Semitic Babylonians (Emend. z. A. T. s. 41, ff.). But the appeal to the obscure Arphachsad of Gen. x. 22 is more than problematical; a more difficult and significant passage is Gen. xxii. 22, where Chesed is brought forward as a Semite among the collateral relations of Abraham. Winer (Lib. cit. p. 259) has tried to get rid of this passage by the remark, that it possesses no historical weight. So also Gesenius, Comment zur. Jes. I. 748. But that it is strictly historical appears from its agreement with Gen. xi. 28,[1] where mention is made of *Ur Chasdim*, which is certainly to be sought for in the northern part of Mesopotamia, since Abraham, intending to go to Canaan, had first to betake himself to Charan in southern Mesopotamia in order to reach Palestine, for we cannot suppose that he reversed this course, and travelled from south to north, which he must have done if Olshausen's theory were correct, and Ur lay in Babylon. Besides Ur is a Semitic word, as even Gesenius has not failed to perceive (Thes. I. p. 55). Consequently *originally* the Chaldeans were Semites, and dwelt in the northern part of Mesopotamia, where they could easily reach the districts, out of which we again see them proceeding, at a later period, in the south. In this way, and in this alone, can it be explained how they entirely disappear from history up to the time of Isaiah, and how they re-appear in the way in which the Prophet (xxiii. 13) presents them. That during such a period the original Semitic dialect of the people could pass over to another, in consequence of their geographical position, requires no proof, because of the multitude of similar cases.—ii. The Babylonish proper names still remaining to us, as well as some other terms, bear a character evidently the opposite of Semitic formations. Hence the difficulty of determining them etymologically, as we cannot arbitrarily set out from the Neo-Persic (see § 19). The older scholars, such as Hottinger (in the Smegma Orient.), L. de Dieu, Pfeiffer, Reland, &c., have done much for the combination of the Persic with these names, and the matter has anew been investigated by Lorsbach (Archiv. f. Morgenländ. Lit. Th. I. and II.), whose interpretation Gesenius adopts as "extremely agreeable and pleasant" (Gesch. d. Heb. Spr. s. 63.) Von Bohlen,

1 This passage has so embarrassed Hartmann (Ling. Einl. s. 150) that he holds the word כשדים for an addition made during the period of the Chaldean supremacy! That means—anything rather than give up!

in his Symbolæ ad Interpret. S. cod. ex Lingua Pers. (Lips. 1822), has made many attempts at explaining them, but for the most part his are arbitrary conjectures.[1] After much careful comparison of the Babylonish words in question, I have adopted the following rules as the surest guides.

a. Those words which are plainly compounded with Aramaic forms are not forthwith to be interpreted as Persic, but the Aramaic etymology must be first taken into account as the surest guide. Thus the words חַמָּנִים, נְכֹחַ, תֹּמֶת, which are plainly Aramaic (Kleinert s. 222, 3). So also עבד in compounded words like Abednego, &c., is undoubtedly Semitic. Also אדר appears to belong to the same, and the forms אצר and אסד to be only hebraising.

b. As relates to the formation of these words it is undeniable that many of them have an Aramaic termination, the תָא of the *stat. emphat.* as in *Artachsasta*, &c. (Simonis. Onomast. p. 565). On the other hand, there are others having a Persic ending, especially the Diminutive-ending, the דְ final, as in Aramaic the Diminutive-ending is wanting (see Hoffmann, Gr. Syr. p. 251.) The frequent use of this termination (as in כֶּרֶדְ, נִסְרוֹדְ, מֵישָׁדְ, שַׁדְרָדְ, סְרַדְ, הַמְנִיכָא, אַרְיוֹדְ, &c.) must be explained by the rule which Ewald finds applicable also to the Arabic, viz. " Diminutiva sensum etiam *teneri* exprimunt et *blandientis*, unde vel ad verba *admirationis* et pronomina transferuntur" (Gr. Arab. i. 156). Comp. also Hitzig on Is. p. 436.

c. The Aramaic and Persic forms are often united, which is easily explainable by the common use of the thence-resulting mingling of the two languages. Thus, as Belshazzar (בלשאצר, which may be an Aramaic form[2]) had another name Nabonned, since Bel, the Aramaic Nebo, was the Chaldaic name of an idol (similarly Nabonassar and Belesis, Kleinert, p. 218), both formations would be melted down in the same word. Clearly is this the case in עֲבֵדְנְגוֹ (Gesenius on Is. ii. p. 343); on the analogy of which other forms are

1 See in reply to him Kleinert, in the Dörptschen Beitr. I. 213, ff.

2 The termination שאצר is only another way of writing שראצר, and signifies *illustrious, lauded chief.* How incorrect the Hebrews were in the writing of such foreign names, and how they allowed themselves hebraising alterations, is manifest from the word בלטשאצר, which was only a various spelling of the other.

to be explained, such as נְבוּשַׁזְבָן, *Nebo is the deliverer* (שָׁזַב, liberare, Simonis, p. 573); Nebucadnezzar from Nebo (נְבוֹ, see above), דָּן or אֲדָן (comp. בֵּלְאֲדָן, *Belus is Lord*), אֲצַר, *Nebo is the glorious ruler*, &c.

d. In the case of appellatives, as the Chaldees were the *dominant* race, it may be most safely presumed that the *names of offices* are foreign, as also the analogy of some of them would lead us to decide; thus רַבְשָׁקֵה, which is equivalent to מֶלְצַר (see my Comment. on Daniel, s. 34).[1] So also *Achashdarpanin*, Satraps Dan. iii. 2, concerning which we learn expressly from Esth. iii. 12, viii. 9, ix. 3, that it is a *Persic* name (see my Comment. s. 97[2]). Further, as the Chaldees were also a *priestly* caste (see my Comment. s. 48 [where evidence for this assertion is adduced from Herod. I. 181, 183; Diodorus Siculus, II. 24, 29, &c.]), we may most securely derive the words relating to this department, which do not admit of an Aramaic etymology, from the Persic, such as the names מַג, *Magus* (Comment. s. 46), פַּרְתֶּבֶג, *food for the gods* (ibid. s. 25), &c.

2. Not less difficult is the question as to the constitution of the *Aramaic* spoken in Babylon. That in Babylon a peculiar dialect of that language existed, cannot be doubted. The only question is whether our knowledge of that dialect is of such a kind as to enable us to form any judgment upon it. J. D. Michaelis answers in the negative (Abhandlung von d. Syr. Spr. § 2), and he has been followed in this by Hezel (Gesch. d. Heb. Spr. s. 342, ff.), Jahn (Aram. Sprachl. § 1) and others. Of late, Hupfeld has avowed the same conviction;[3] his principal reasons are the following:

a. "The documents from which our knowledge of the Babylonian dialect is gleaned are purely *Jewish*, and not Babylonish." But this reason proceeds on the unfounded assumption that we are without any genuine Babylonian documents, whereas such are to

1 [In the place referred to, Hävernick explains Melzar as a name of office, from a Persic word signifying *vini princeps*. Rabshakeh signifies nearly the same, viz. *pincernarum princeps*.— Tr.]

2 [Here the author shows (following De Sacy, Hengstenberg, and Gesenius) that Achashdarpanin is from the Pers. *Kshetr*, a "kingdom," and *Ban*, "guardian," and signifies, "ruler of a province."—Tr.]

3 Theol. Stud. und Krit. 1830, s. 291, ff. He has been followed by De Wette, Einl. s. 51, ff., 4te Anf. The other side has been espoused by Winer, Realwörterb. I. s. 147, note.

be found in the book of Daniel (ch. iv.), as well as in Ezra (ch. iv., &c.) That these would be faithfully preserved there can be no reason to doubt, as they consist of important edicts issued by kings.

b. "There is lack of historical evidence of such a difference of dialect; throughout the ancient writers there is mention of only one language in the whole East, as far as the Tigris." This reason is still feebler than the preceding; to prove it out of Strabo, Xenophon, and other Greeks, is impossible, because they could not possibly have enough of experience and knowledge of these allied dialects to detect their nicer differences.

c. "We find no marks in the language of such peculiarities as would constitute a special dialect. All variations from the Syriac are either purely imaginary or of Hebrew origin." To reply to this argument by simply collecting, as Hoffmann has done (Gr. Syr. p. 11, sq.), the evident departures of the Chaldaic, viewed as the Judaic-Babylonic dialect from the new-Aramaic or the Syriac, is fruitless. This Judaic-Babylonian dialect must be treated of not merely in its relation to the Syriac, but also to the Hebrew. Now, if we find departures from the Syriac which are of such a kind that they cannot be derived from the Hebrew, or be viewed as corruptions of the Hebrew usage, we may justly regard these as Babylonish peculiarities, on account of the historical connection of the Jews with Babylon, especially when we find these in the most ancient Jewish documents which we possess of that age. Hence I regard the following in this light: the different prevailing mode of *writing* words, as וְמַן, Syr. ܙܒܢ, בְּקָעָת, Syr. ܒܩܥܬ, &c.; *grammatical forms*, as the pronoun דְּךְ דִּךְ with Ezra, דֶּנָה דִּן with Daniel (in the Syr. we have for both ܗܢܘ), where the origin from the Hebrew is the more doubtful in consequence of these demonstratives being properly onomatopoietic; the wholly *peculiar form* of the numeral תַּלְתָּא תַּלְתִּי, see my Comment. on Daniel, s. 185, ff.;[1] *infinitive-formations* with א— in place of the Syr. ܐ—,

[1] [This word occurs only in Daniel. It is not to be confounded with תלתי, *tertius*, as many dictionaries teach, but is intentionally thus formed, and has a special meaning; this appears as well from the fact that Daniel knows the common word (ii. 39), as from the fact that he uses this one only in this chapter in a definite and special connection. It is to be viewed as having the adjectival formation denoting *descent* or *occupation* (here the latter), and to be chosen here as *noman officii*. The ancient Rabbins knew this; Jerome is indebted to them for his weighty note, *vel tertius post me vel unus e tribus*

where certainly the affinity of the dialects consists in the endeavour to assimilate the infinitive to substantive-formations, but the divergence may nevertheless be derived from the Hebrew, to which the Syriac is as near as the Babylonian; moreover, peculiar *passive formations*, as הֵרְתֵּי distinguished from הֵיתֵי (see Comment. on Daniel, s. 112)[1], the altogether *peculiar passive-form* קְטִיל (see Buxtorf. Gr. Chald. p. 66, sq.), contrary to the Syriac usage, in which the passives were formed by the addition of syllables, whereas in the Babylonic (as also in the Hebrew) they were formed by an internal vowel-change, but in a manner quite different from the Hebrew; the *status emphat.* יָא—; in Syr. this has a simple ā—, which contracted form does not appear to have penetrated into the Babylonian Aramaic.—To these are to be added several words of a peculiar kind relating to Babylonish customs, arrangements, mythology, &c., and the use of which must especially belong to this dialect. Thus the judical expressions כְּנָמָא and כְּעָנָת in Ezra, of which the former occurs also in analogous cases in the rabbinical writings (see Danz, Rabbin. enucleat. p. 88) though not exactly in the same sense, whence the latter cannot be explained from anything in Hebrew or Aramaic, but only from the Arabic; so also דְּיָרָה in the sense of *to fall, to lie down* (Comment. z. Daniel, s. 44);[2] expressions like עִיר, of Genii, Dan. iv. 10, לְדַנָּה (Comment. s. 177, ff.);[3] the interchange of the ל and

principibus quos alibi (Dan. vi. 1) *τριστάτας legimus.*—From the passage referred to in the author's work on Dan.—Tr.]

1 [De Dieu has correctly distinguished between the forms הֵרְתֵּי and הֵיתֵי, "tum הֵיתֵי legendum erat, ut ex Dan. v. 3 liquet, unde et infinitivus לְהֵיתָאָה, ibid. ver. 2. At הֵרְתֵּי passivum esse liquot ex Dan. vi. 17, וְהֵיתֵית אֶבֶן, et allatus est lapis unus." This hophal-form is peculiar to Daniel (the Targumists use instead the Ithpaal), and it was also unknown in the earlier Palestinian dialect, as the hiphil-form הֵרִיד, Is. xxi. 14, Jer. xii. 9, shows." Loc cit.—Tr.]

2 [In the place referred to H. rejects the explanation of Calvin, "somnus ejus factio est super ipsum, *i.e.* itorum dormire coepit," and that of Junius, "quum somnus ejus esset in ipso, *i.e.* quum adhuc somnum coperat," as giving an inapposite and feeble sense. De Dieu's construction, "somnus factus est *contra* ipsum, *i.e.* adversus ei et molestus," he regards as intolerably harsh and improbable. That of Bertholdt and Winer, "Sleep went away from him," he rejects as grammatically unauthorised, and prefers the original meaning of the verb, "sleep *fell* upon him."—Tr.]

3 [" The word לדנה, which is ἅπαξ λεγόμενον, is to be explained from the Arabic, where

ד in the words דְּרוֹן and אֲזַד and many others (ibid. s. 55 and 221.)[1].

We may thus concede to the opponents that the hitherto cherished idea of two dialects strongly opposed to each other, an eastern Aramaic and a western (Chaldee and Syriac) is not true to the extent that all forms which we find in the hebraising Jewish documents are to be referred to the former. But there is in it this much, that many words can be explained only on the hypothesis of a peculiar Babylonian language, which undoubtedly is to be viewed as a sub-dialect of the great Aramaic branch. We must beware, however, of being led by the congruity of the vocalisation of this Aramaic dialect with that of the Hebrew to pronounce on it a general decision, as for instance Winer does when he sets forth the Chaldee as the purer and softer, the Syriac as the rougher and harsher dialect. The difference cannot be of the kind here specified, especially as both languages enjoyed equally slender cultivation through literary effort; in such a case the existing traces of difference are not such as to justify us in pronouncing such a judgment upon them.

§ 21. CONTINUATION. ARAMAIC DIALECT IN THE NORTH OF PALESTINE.

Did we know the dialect of Palmyra (Tadmor) which lay six days' journey from Babylon and three from Damascus, more fully and exactly than it can possibly be determined from the fragments of inscriptions[2] belonging to this city still remaining, we should be able to detect in it a transition dialect between that of Babylon and that of west Syria. Palmyra was the ancient commercial centre between Hither and Middle Asia (Hartmann l. c. s. 232, ff.) The inscriptions belong to the first three centuries of the Christian æra, and are for the most part Bilingual, Aramaic, and Greek, and with many Greek names and words interwoven. Hence we may

إخن means *foetuit, obscoenus fuit*, and hence إخن *vulva*. It stands in the Chald. for the Heb. פִּילֶגֶשׁ, concubine."]—Tr.

1 [אזד is for אזל *abiit*; דרון is equivalent to לכא, v. 4.]—Tr.

2 See the full literature on this subject in O. G. Tychsen by Hartmann, II. 2, p. 254, ff.

conclude that the original is not the Greek but the Aramaic,[1] and that the authors were not Jews but heathens.[2] The words most distinctly occurring in them, particularly those adduced by Koppe in his admirable attempts to decipher them, for the most part connect themselves with the Babylonian dialect, and so serve to confirm what has been urged in the preceding section as to the existence of a dialect peculiar to Babylon.

It is difficult to determine how far the dominion of the Aramaic extended in the North of Palestine towards Asia Minor. Of the Solymi, the original inhabitants of Lysia and Pisidia, Choerilus, as quoted by Josephus (cont. Ap. I. 22 : *γλῶσσαν μὲν φοίνισσαν ἀπὸ στομάτων ἀφιέντες*) says that they spoke Aramaic (the same language as the Phenicians), and Bochart (Phaleg p. 378, sq.) has with great diligence collected the traces of it in proper names belonging to that land and people. Since the Phenicians established many colonies everywhere, even in Hither Asia, their language must also have undoubtedly spread widely there;[3] still the connection with Greece and the Persian supremacy left in Asia Minor only a few traces of the Semitic language. On the Cappadocians, Bochart (p. 590) pronounces: "Cappadoces Syris accenseo non ratione originis, nam erant ex stirpe Gomer, sed *ratione sermonis, qui a Syro non abhorrebat.*" Certainly the Greeks (Herod. I. 72, V. 49) as well as the Persians (ibid. VII. 72) reckoned the Cappadocians among the Syrians (*Λευκοσυροι*), and probably they once spoke Aramaic. Under the Persian dominion, however, they seem, with the Persian worship (Strabo lit. XV. p. 404), to have adopted also the Persian language; see Strabo l. XII. *init.* According to Herodotus (VII. 72) even the name *Καππαδόκαι* appears to have been derived from the Persians.

Aramaic was spoken along the Syrian coast, or in Syria properly so called, of which the principal country was Phoenicia, and this from its proximity to the Hebrews is of especial moment for us; it is to be viewed along with its colony Carthage, the inhabitants of which are called by the Greeks simply Phenicians (Polyb. I. 19; III. 78; VI. 52, &c.) The

[1] See in opposition to Hartmann, Kopp, Bilder und Schriften II. 255, ff.

[2] Kopp l. c. s. 269, ff.

[3] "Phoenices cum suis coloniis Hebraismum ubique disseminarunt." Bochart, p. 361.

intimate affinity of the ancient inhabitants of Palestine with the Phenicians, who called themselves also Canaanites (Sanchuniathon ap. Euseb. Praepar. Evang. I. c. 10)[1] leads to the presumption of an affinity in point of language, and this is fully confirmed by the remains of the Phenician tongue.[2] This relationship is made the most of by those who would find in the Phenician nothing but pure Hebrew.[3] But the whole geographical position of the country points rather to a passing over of the Aramaic language into the Hebrew, and hence to a language of a mixed character. This is confirmed by the following considerations: 1. We find that in the north of Palestine there *was* a dialect approximating to the Aramaic (see below) and nothing is more probable than that this was that of the Phenicians; 2. The testimonies of the older writers correspond to this; of which we may adduce the sentence of Jerome (ad Jes. xxiv. 21): *Poeni . . ,* quorum lingua Hebraeae linguae *magna ex parte confinis;*" and Quaest. Hebr. ad Genes., where he calls the Punic language *conterminous* with the Hebrew. Less weight attaches to the passages adduced on this head from Augustin (*e. gr.* De verbo Domini Serm. 35: "istae linguae sibi significationis *quadam vicinitate* sociantur) as they can be regarded only as the utterances of a witness unskilled in Hebrew, and one-sided.—3. The remains of the Phenician most evidently confirm this idea. To these belong the א as an article in place of ה, a verging towards the status emphaticus of the Armaeans; the ש praef. in place of אשר; the exchange of the שׁ for ת (תם instead of שָׁם, Bellermann, Erklär. der Punisch. St. d. Poenulus I. 39.) תור instead of שׁור Plutarch, Sylla, תלת for שׁלשׁ, Kopp I. 267, also שׁלוּשׁ (Augustin. ad Ep. ad Rom. 7, 3); the plural-ending ן—, besides that in ם— (צדנך, שׁמין, Bellermann II. 28, ff.); harsh and rough pronunciations, אכת for אחת (Gesenius, Thes. 1, p. 66—in Hebrew a rare exchange, comp. אָנֹכִי and אֲנַחְנוּ) &c.—Among the Carthaginians, however, we must

1 The rather that the Scriptural account (Gen. x. 18) of the constant residence of the Phoenicians or Canaanites in their country, as opposed to the statement of some of the classics that they had immigrated thither from the Red Sea, is alone worthy of credit. See Hengstenberg De rebus Tyriorum, p. 93, sq.

2 Let any one only glance over the Phenician words given by Gesenius, Gesch. d. Heb. Spr. s. 224.

3 As Bochart and others, G. G. Tyschen, most immoderately of all. See on the other side Kopp, Lib. cit. I. 221; II. 182, ff.

assume the existence of a mixed dialect, since a portion of them had mingled with the Libyans ("*Libyphoenices*, mistum punicum Afris genus," Liv. XXI. 22, see more in Münter's Relig. d. Karthager, s. 107, ff.), and thus on the proper Carthaginian another element would be engrafted. Hence Walton has (Prolegg. p. 91) proposed to derive from this source those Carthaginian words which are not explainable from the Hebrew, and Sickler (Kadmus s. LXXIII.) would find also in Libya as in Ethiopia Semitic language and rites. But, in opposition to this are the express evidences which attest not only that the Libyans and the Ethiopians were different peoples, but also the great linguistic divergence of the Carthaginians from the Libyans; see Münter, Lib. cit. s. 99, ff.

Of the old Phœnician literature it is an exaggerated representation to set it forth as a cultivated and complete body of learning.[1] For this the commercial spirit of the people was far from being favourable. Certainly there were Archives, especially Temple-Archives, among them (Joseph. cont. Ap. I. 6, 17),[2] but in them there was found nothing beyond Annals, the histories of the people and of particular towns written by the priests.[3] The ancients also speak only of historical accounts, and consequently the Phœnicians had, like all ancient nations at all civilized, their Annalists. As such Sanchoniathon may be cited, whose history, as translated by Philo of Byblos, a contemporary of Hadrian, we possess in fragments preserved by Eusebius, though not free from interpolations;[4] and as later writers of History, Theodotos, Hypsicrates, and Mochos, from whom the Greek or the Greek-writing historians (Menander of Ephesus, Chaitos, Dios, Hieronymus, Philostratus) drew their materials and translated (Bochart l. cit. p. 861, sq.) Carthage also, of whose Bibliotheca Pliny speaks (Hist. Nat. xviii. 3), had for the most part only historians (Charon, Hannibal, Hanno),[5] yet a few philosophers also; comp. Münter lib. cit. 151, ff., who

1 See *e.g.* Bellermann, lib. cit. I. 11, ff.

2 He says: *ἔστι παρὰ Τυρίοις πολλῶν ἐτῶν γράμματα, δημοσίᾳ γεγραμμένα, καὶ πεφυλαγμένα λίαν ἐπιμελῶς περὶ τῶν παρ' αὐτοῖς γενομένων καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους πραχθέντων μνήμης ἀξίων*, and speaks of *τοῖς ἀρχαίοις τῶν Φοινίκων*.

3 We may refer the Kiriath-Sepher of Jos. xv. 16, to this, but hardly can we here with Bellermann seek for "learning," or "learned institutions."

4 See Fabricius, Bibl. Gr. I. 222, ed. Harless, Comp. Bochart, Phaleg. p. 855, sq. Buddeus, Hist. V. T. I. 981, sq.

5 Comp. Hug, Hannonis Periplus Freyb. 1808.

says excellently, " the Carthaginian government appears, however, not to have known the true worth of the sciences; otherwise they would not have attempted, and that at a late period, to restrain them by that hostile decree, which indeed did not long last, that no Carthaginian should learn Greek (Justin. Hist. XX. 5.) Also a few though scanty notices are to be found of Carthaginian art and artists. For the most part it was undoubtedly by the Greeks that the seeds of cultivation were attempted to be scattered among the Punic people, and for this the many relations of Carthage with Sicilia, Lower Italy, and even Greece Proper, must have afforded frequent opportunity."

The remains of the Phœnician tongue are to be found in the following monuments:

1. The Punic passages in the Poenulus of Plautus, the longest of which, Act. V. sc. 1, 2, is in a corrupted form from being written in Latin characters, and being consequently, by ignorant transcribers, variously perverted; hence very differently interpreted, but most felicitously by Bellermann. The Latin translation appended, and which is both incomplete and very free, is not perhaps the work of Plautus himself, but of some other Roman who understood Punic; it cannot therefore well be a very late addition[1] (Bellermann I. 19, ff., II. 41, ff.)

2. The Phœnico-punic glosses which are found in ancient writers, partly appellatives chiefly relating to objects of commerce, Asiatic productions, &c. (as *e.g.* *μύῤῥα* מוֹר, *νάρδος* נֵרְד, *ἔβενος* הֳבְנִים, *κάσσια* קְצִיעָה, *κάννη* (Calmus), קָנֶה, &c.), partly proper names which again are either really Phœnician proper names, or mythological names received also by the Greeks; the latter more naturally since the Pelasgians and their worship were of Hither-Asiatic, of Phœnician origin.[2] In this respect much may be gained from those more recent mythological works, which acknowledge the necessity of an acquaintance with the Oriental myths for the understanding of those of Greece, though there is also here much

1 This is so much the more probable because the passages in Plautus suffered many interpolations for the sake of theatrical representation; comp. Osann, Analect. Crit. p. 141, sq. Niebuhr on the scenes in Plautus, marked as suppositious, in the Abhandl. d. Berlin, Akad. of the year 1816, s. 277, ff.

2 See Kreuzer, Vorfragen ueb. Homeros I. 83. A Phoenician colony in Eleusis is demonstrated by Hamacker, Miscell. Phoenic, p. 212, sq.

arbitrary etymologising. To me the rules and observations on such etymological investigations by Schelling[1] appear golden and not sufficiently prized.

3. *Inscriptions* and *coins*, as well from Phœnicia itself as from its colonies, Cyprus, the States of Asia Minor, &c. The former do not belong to an age much earlier than the time of Christ, the latter are in part older. They have more interest on the whole in a palaeographic than in a linguistic point of view, since we must draw on the linguistic treasures of the Bible in order to decipher them rather than the converse.

§ 22. NEW ARAMAIC DIALECT. THE SYRIAC AS AN ECCLESIASTICAL LANGUAGE.

With the diffusion of Christianity in the north-eastern regions of Palestine there arose a dialect as a written language which has throughout a peculiar character, and is commonly called the Syriac.[2] It developed itself first in the north of Mesopotamic Syria; the Syrian Church at Edessa deduces its origin from the Apostle Thaddeus (Winer, Reallex. I. 746, ff.), and here there certainly was existing a church, if not in the beginning at least in the middle of the second century (Gieseler, K. G. I. 123 [I. 121, Davidson's Transl.], comp. also Michaelis Orient. Bibl. X. 60, ff.), and in this the Syriac translation of the New Testament came into use towards the end of that century. Hence this is the most ancient document of this literature. Though not slavishly tied to the original text, but for the most part felicitously rendering the idiotisms of the Greek into the Aramaic, the whole character of its language has derived thence, nevertheless, a peculiar hue, as is proved by the multitude of Greek words adopted (among which are even particles such as ܟܠ μὲν, ܕ δὲ, ܓ γὰρ, &c., Hug, Einl. ins N.

1 Ueb. die Gottheiten von Samothrace, s. 51, ff.

2 See the older literature in Hartmann's Tychsen II. 2, s. 505, ff. More recent works are those of Kopp, Hamacker, Lindberg, &c (comp. the Hall. Allg. L. Z., 1825, No. 64), and Wihl de gravissimis aliquot Phoenicum inscriptionibus comment. Munschen, 1831. (Comp. Ewald, Gött. Gel. Anz. 1833, s. 1295, ff.)

3 Hence I cannot find any just meaning in the opinion of some, as Hoffmann (Gesch. d. Syr. Litt. in Bertholdt's Krit. Journal XV. 226) who speak of a lost Syrian literature.

T. I. 328, ff. [Fosdick's Trans. p. 201]). To this was added the translation of the Old Testament (see on this under ch. iv.), and thus a proper Church language was formed.—Yet, on the other hand, this translation was very far from conferring elegance on the language, and giving it substantiality, and this lies in the general conception of a translation. Every one sees plainly that in it the language was first constructed,[1] and hence, as the latter advanced in cultivation, it was impossible for it to continue to satisfy the people. Already in the fourth century many of the expressions were found by Ephraem and his contemporaries obscure, and needing explanation or conjecture, a circumstance which at the same time proves the great age of this version.[2] Still more perplexed thereby were the later Syriac grammarians who sought to investigate and fix the usage of the language, as Bar-Hebraeus, who not only calls in question the elegance of it,[3] and on this ground gives the preference to the LXX. (Assemanni Bibl. Orient. II. 279, sq.), but even complains of its grammatical incorrectness.[4]—The literature which had come into existence under these church influences began at an early period to be cultivated, at first chiefly by Bardesanes (about the year 170) in Edessa, of whom Eusebius says (H. E. IV. 30), *ἱκανώτατός τις ἀνὴρ, ἐν τε τῇ Σύρων φωνῇ διαλεκτικώτατος*. From the philosophical tendency of this writer, a multitude of new conceptions must have been introduced into the language, which he further cultivated in another direction, as the

1 A similar case is supplied by the linguistic history of the Coran, see § 24; only here the Muhammedan superstition did not allow such free judgments as those of the Syr. grammarians.

2 Comp. the numerous instances in N. Wiseman, Horae Syriacae, I. 122, sq.; Von Lengerke de Ephraemi arte hermeneutica, p. 112, sq., especially p. 235, sq.

3 He calls it ܠܥܝܙ, *i.e. trivial, ordinary, in the vulgar style;* comp. the thorough investigation of the term in Döpke Anott., ad Michaelis Chrestom. Syr. p. 107, sq.

4 ܣܟܠܘܬܐ, *imperitia* (comp. the adj. ܣܟܠ, *idiota*, Assem. Bib. Or. I. 37) here in the sense of grammatical unskilfulness. This interesting passage is communicated by Wiseman, from a Codex in the Vatican, lib. cit. p. 106. Barhebraeus notes the form ܡܫܒܚܝܢ as ungrammatical in place of ܡܫܒܚܝܢ (Ps. iv. 5), for people say ܡܫܒܚ̈ܝܢ, and not ܡܫܒ̈ܚܝܢ. Rhode has indeed endeavoured (Gregorii Barhebraei Schol. in Ps. v. etc. Vratislav. 1832, p. 32) to convict Barheb. of an error here, and to defend the form censured by him. But that the form of the Peschito is approved by grammarians such as Amira proves nothing, as the marvellous manner in which they defend it shows, (Hoffmann, Gr. Syr. p. 254.) Dathe's edition of the version of the Psalms has also the form ܡܫܒ̈ܚܝܢ, which shows plainly the correcting hand of grammarians.

originator of the Syriac Church Psalmody. His 150 hymns, composed after those of David (ܡܙܡܘܪ), served as a model for the Church poetry of the Syrians (see Acta Ephraemi Syri—composed in the fifth or sixth centuries—in his Opp. III. p. 51. Asseman. Bib. Orient. I. 48, note 1).—A new bias also must have been given to this literature by the theological schools, such as those founded at Nisibis and Edessa.[1] In the fourth century, Ephraem the Syrian distinguished himself as the founder of a school at Edessa, which, from his piety and learning, was in great repute among the Syrians.[2] He is expressly named as teacher of the Syriac language and literature (Asseman. Bibl. Orient. III. 2, 924), and Theodoret celebrates him as *Ἐφραὶμ ὁ θαυμάσιος, συγγραφεὺς δὲ οὗτος ἄριστος παρὰ Σύροις ἐγένετο* (p. 114.) He cultivated literature in many branches. He was the first among the Syrians to compose commentaries on the Holy Scriptures, of which that on the Old Testament alone has been printed. This, however, has come to us in the form of Scholia, for the most part mangled and with many foreign additions, so that properly it forms only a Catena.[3] Besides, he wrote a number of ascetic, polemic, and dogmatic works, and homilies, and distinguished himself by his hymns, a species of composition of which the Syrians of his day were very fond (Assem. I. 47.)

At that time, through the influence of several causes, began an exceedingly propitious epoch for Syrian literature. A great number of interpreters and dogmatic writers flourished, and the different ecclesiastical parties augmented the interest in theology (see the enumeration in Hoffmann, Gesch. der. Syr. Liter. &c., s. 263), though from this cause also arose tendencies that were one-sided, and by which further development was restrained, as for instance the adherence of the Nestorians to the exegesis of Theodore of Mopsuesta, in consequence of which commentaries written on another principle were suppressed and forbidden (Assem. III. i. 82 and 84.) The numbers of Persians who frequented the schools of Syria devoted themselves with zeal to the study of the Syriac language, and valued

1 See the details in Lengerke, lib. cit. p. 85, sq.

2 See for his Life Assemanni Bibl. Orient. I. 24; III. 1, p. 61. Opp. Ephr. Syr. III. p. xxiii. Gaab in Paulus Memorabilien II. 236. Credner De Prophet. Min. Vers. Syr. ind. p. 9. Lengerke Comment. Crit. de Ephraemo Syro, p. 1, sq.

3 See Assemani I. 63; Wiseman, Hor. p. 137. Credner, loc cit. p. 28.

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very highly the knowledge of it (Assem. I. 351 ; II. 402 ; III. 2, 924 ; Epiphan. adv. Haer. 66.) In the beginning of the 5th century, a number of Greek works, especially those of the philosophers, were translated into Syriac (Assem. III. 1, p. 85, sq., Barhebr. Chron. Syr. p. 62.) The schools of the Nestorians also rendered their age famous by their knowledge of natural history and medicine (see Sprengel in the Allgem. Encycl. of Ersch and Gruber. 5. 70.) Of their grammatical cultivation of the Syrian language, we have a witness in the diacritical points which were introduced by them, if not in the time of Ephraem, certainly very shortly after; these by their relation to the strict grammatical discrimination of words show how much the attention of learned Syrians was directed to such studies (Hupfeld, Theolog. Stud. u. Krit. 1830, 786, ff.)

As the invasion of the Muhammedan Arabs began, from the 7th century, to impede such studies, and the Syriac began to be suppressed, or at least corrupted by the Arabic, grammarians endeavoured to restore the ancient purer speech, and to introduce a methodical mode of learning it (Assem. II. 307, sq.) Among these the first place is due to Jacob of Edessa. Eminently skilled in Hebrew, Greek, and Syriac (Abulpharag. Hist. Dyn. p. 51), he devoted himself to improving the translations of the Old Testament (Assem. II. 136, sq.) ; and established a sort of Canon of the older standard writers, who alone were worthy of being imitated, namely, Ephraem, Jacob of Sarug, Isaac the Great, Xenajas of Mabug[1] (Assem. I. 475 and 478.) At that time the intrusion of so many foreign words or expressions not in harmony with the Syriac idiom appears to have been the evil chiefly deplored, so that frequently a word of a totally different meaning was substituted for that in the received version ; for instance ܟܠܡܢ for ܐܟܠ. Avoiding this rigid purism Jacob endeavoured to strike out a middle path by an appeal to the older authorities. Since that time the dialect of Edessa has been esteemed the purest in point of pronunciation and diction, as in general the dialect of Mesopotamia and Syria Proper, the same as spoken in Assyria (Nabatæa Irak) though there impurely and as a mixed dialect (Assem. I. 476.) The difference between the Nestorian or Eastern, and the Jacobite

1 Who already before this had been esteemed as a distinguished Stylist, Assem. II. 20.

or Western Syrians was anything but fundamental, and shows how the latter brought in a tendency foreign from the original character of the language (they used ◌̱ in many words in place of ◌̇), probably in order to render faithfully the Chaldaic words of the New Testament (such as 'Αββα), which trifling and pedantic tendency shows itself also elsewhere as in the Karkaphensian recension (Wiseman lib. cit. p. 217.)[1] Following the Jewish Masorites, the Nestorians and Monophysites divided, each in a peculiar manner,[2] the Scriptures into equal sections, and arranged the books in the whole. The variations of the different versions were determined not without painfully micrological efforts, and the punctuation more exactly fixed. With these grammarians originated the use of the Greek vowels in place of the ancient diacritical marks (even Jacob of Edessa makes use of them), and there appeared works in which the subject of punctuation is expressly handled theoretically.[3]

But all these were only symptoms that the language had ceased to advance in living development, and foreboded its speedy decease. In consequence of the prevalence of the Arabic, people came to write in that language as well as in the vernacular language of the country. Already in the 10th and 11th centuries the Syriac had almost disappeared as the language of intercourse in the cities; in the 12th and 13th it had almost entirely vanished everywhere (see Eichhorn's Gesch. d. Liter. Th. V. s. 433.) Only a few individuals distinguished themselves as Exegetes and Dogmatists, chiefly among the Jacobites, such as Barsalibi, bishop of Amida (died 1171), comp. Assemanni II. 158, 160, sq., and Barhebraus or Abulpharadsh (died 1268); but they occupied themselves chiefly with the collecting and arranging of the materials supplied by the former times. Of the numerous writings of Barhebraeus (Assem. II. 267, sq.), the most remarkable is the Chronicon, consisting of three parts; it is especially valuable for the church history of the East, and indicates the author's extensive acquaintance with Greek and Syriac authors. It has been edited by Bruns and Kirsch, 2 vols. 4to, Lips., 1789, but stands much

1 A proper Dialectic variety (Hoffmann, Gr. Syr. p. 26) there is no ground for supposing here.

2 See on the former Adler, Kurze Uebers. c. Bibl. crit. Reise nach Rom. s. 103, ff., and on the latter Wiseman l. cit. p. 213, sq.

3 Comp. Wiseman, lib. cit. p. 182, sq. (cf. p. 31, sq.); Hupfeld l. c. s. 802, ff.

in need of emendation; comp. Bernstein, Greg. Barhebraei e codd. manuscr. passim emendati specimen I. Lips. 1822. Of this Chronicle, Barhebraeus himself composed a compendium in Arabic which was edited by Pococke, Oxon., 1663. Besides this there is the exegetical work of Barhebraeus ܐܘܪ̈ܝ ܙ̈ܪܥ̈ܐ, Horreum mysteriorum, composed on the model of the Comment of Barsalibi, taking notice especially of the various readings and renderings, and only explaining the meaning in the more difficult passages (see on it the above-cited work of Rhode.) A very valuable catalogue of Syriac writings was compiled just before the language became dead by Ebedjesu, metropolitan of Soba (died 1318, comp. Assem. III. i. p. 1, sq.), who also acquired great fame for learning, and excellence of writing in prose and verse (ibid. III. i. p. 325.) It was grammar and lexicography, however, which the national grammarians chiefly cultivated. The existing grammatical works were collected in the beginning of the 13th century by Barzugbi, who adopted as his basis the division and method of the Greek grammarians (Assem. III. i. p. 307; Hoffmann, Gr. Syr. p. 29.) Lexicography began with the explanation of the no longer understood words in the Peschito, and out of such preparatory works arose the two famous original lexica by Bar Ali and Bar Bahlul, which still remain in manuscript; comp. Gesenius de Bar Ali et Bar Bahlul, Lips. 1834.

Nevertheless the Syriac continued among almost all the Christian parties in the East as a Church language, especially in the liturgies; without, however, being diffused as a living tongue among the people, unless specially acquired for that purpose. The Maronites chiefly devoted themselves to the study of it, and made use of it as the language of literature and writing (Burckhardt, Reise in Syrien, Palüst. u. s. w. I. 66.) The Maronites spread also in Europe the knowledge of the Syriac, after in the 16th century a Maronite college had been erected at Rome, in which first of all Amira and Abraham Ecchellensis distinguished themselves. In the beginning of the 18th century, however, there proceeded from this the learned librarians of the Vatican, Joseph Simon and Steph. Evodius Assemanni, through whom the library of the Vatican was enriched with numerous Syriac manuscripts, and to whom the world is indebted for the editing of important Syriac works, those of Ephraem Syrus (in union with the Jesuit father Benedict) the

Acta Martyrum Oriental. (P. I. et. II. Rom. 1748), and above all the valuable Bibliotheca Orientalis, which contains many precious extracts from Syriac writers, and moreover catalogues the many manuscript treasures of the Vatican in this department. Not much has been added to this since the time of the Assemanis; Adler has done a little, and the recently commenced undertaking of Prof. Wiseman (Horae Syriacae, Tom. I. Rom. 1828), awakens fresh hopes of the further enriching of Syrian literature from so copious a source.[1]

The most valuable helps for the learning of the Syriac are for *Grammars* (see the full enumeration in Hoffmann, p. 41, sq.) those of Amira (Rom. 1596, 4to.), Buxtorf (Chald. et Syr. Basil. 1650, 8vo ed. 2), de Dieu (Francof. ad M. 1683, 4), Opitius (Lips. 1678), Schaaf (Lugd. Bat. 1686), Ch. B. Michaelis (Syriasmus Hal. 1741, Lumina Syriaca, in Pott, syll. comment. theol. i. p. 170, sq.), J. D. Michaelis (Hal. 1784), Jahn (Wien 1793), Uhlemann, Hoffmann, &c. [to which may be added the Elements of Syriac Grammar by the Rev. George Phillips, B.D., Lond. 1845, 2nd ed.]; for *Dictionaries* that to the New Testament by Schaaf (Lugd. Bat. 1708), the general one of Castell, edited by J. D. Michaelis (Gott. 1788); for *Chrestomathies* those of J. D. Michaelis, Adler, Hasse, Kirsch, Bernstein, Knoes.

Observation. A peculiar mixed dialect (Jargon), proceeding from the New Aramaic, is the Zabaean, the grammar of which has as yet been but little explored. Bearing generally the character of a thoroughly corrupt language, it contains nevertheless here and there original ingredients, or what lead to such. Comp. on it in general Norberg's Libr. Adami, with the Lexidion and Onomasticon thereto appertaining; Lorsbach, in the Museum für Bibl. und Orient. Liter. Bd. I. st. 1; Hartmann, in the O. G. Tychsen, Bd. II. Abt. 1.—On the dialects produced by the mixing of the Hebrew and Aramaic idioms, the Samaritan and Chaldaic, see farther on.

[1] [Alas! for these hopes. Dr Wiseman has long since forsaken the path of literary labour for that of ecclesiastical ambition; and his Horae Syriacæ remain as they were in 1828.—Tr.]

§ 23. THE DIALECT OF THE SOUTH.—THE ARABIC LANGUAGE.[1]

The most cultivated, and the richest of all the Semitic tongues, and the one therefore standing most markedly in contrast with the Aramaic is the Arabic. Euphonious, rich in vowels, with the most copious variety of forms, and the most elegant and complete structure, it exhibits a literature which alone of its class comes boldly into competition with the plenitude of occidental learning; which flourished for a thousand years, striking deeper its roots, and becoming more cultivated as it continued to grow.

Even in the earliest times it is possible that this dialect was separated from those with which it is allied, though the traces of this are few. The most marked is the form אַלְמוֹדָד Gen. x. 26, the designation of a district of Arabia Felix, having the article prefixed, which has also been preserved elsewhere in some Hebrew documents, as in Prov. xxx. 31; Jos. xv. 30; comp. 1 Chron. iv. 29.[2] —We know also that already in the time of Solomon the wisdom of the Arabs was highly prized, and that enigmas, and so at least the beginning of poesy, were to be found in Yemen, or rather in Sabaea (1 Kings iv. 30; x. 1, ff.).

But there was not in ancient times a literature properly so called among "the sons of the East." Such will not be looked for among the wild, nomadic hordes and tribes of Desert and Stony Arabia. But even in Yemen the inhabitants, however romantic their country, however extensive their commerce, however flourishing their condition, never attained the reputation of literary culture. It seemed as if their country, so remarkably situated, and divided by mountain and stream (Ritter, Erdkunde II. s. 191, ff.), interposed an insuperable barrier in the way of foreign culture and knowledge; these could make no way among that free patriarchal people

[1] We treat this subject here naturally only in its relation to the Hebrew, in so far as it is of use for the development of the Hebrew language and literature.

The reader may compare herewith especially the following writings: Ol. Celsii, historia linguae et eruditionis Arabum. Upsal. 1694. Ch. B. Michaelis, historia linguae Arabicae. Hal. 1706. Walton prolegg. p. 633, sqq. Dathe. Gesenius, in der Hall. Encyclop. I., Th. V. u. d. Art. Arab. Sprache und Literatur. Ewald Gr. Crit. I. Arab. I. p. 1, sq.—Schnurrer Bibliotheca Arabica. Halle 1811, 8.

[2] See Hartmann, Thes. Ling. Heb. e Mishna aug. Part I. p. 22. [The proposed explanation of the words, having *Al* prefixed in the passages cited, is very doubtful; see Maurer's notes in his Comment. Crit. in Vet. Test.—Tr.]

which the might of Persia had not subdued (Herod. iii. 38), to which the host of Alexander could not penetrate, from before which the legions even of Augustus turned back (Strabo l. XVI., p. 782, sq., and 1129.) Great revolutions, by which the whole essence and character of the ancient state were destroyed, furnished the instrumentality by which, through a mingling of foreign elements with the simple notions of the people, a more refined state of culture was introduced. Civil disturbances which the insolence of the Himyaritic conqueror of Yemen provoked, occasioned an exile of older races in the second century after Christ.[1] To this were added violent natural catastrophes, the breaking down of the dykes which, erected in remote antiquity, had made the land of the Sabeans, Mareb, into a Paradise, and the destruction of which turned it into a frighful waste.[2] The families of the tribes of the Sabeans, Joktanides or Himyarites, spread themselves over North Arabia, where they obtained supremacy over the Ismaelitish tribes dwelling there. The exiles founded the famous kingdoms of Gassan and Hira on the Euphrates. The Chosaites,[3] however, maintained themselves in the deserted territory as a new race that had penetrated to it, and extended their conquests as far as Mecca, always a place of importance for that central land, and long before the time of Muhammed, a holy place for the Arabs who had there their National sanctuary. The princes of Yemen became again (from 300 A.D.) powerful; long and bloody wars arose with the more northern tribes, which, at last in the earlier half of the 6th century, secured their independence, and chose rulers for themselves.[4]

Thus many causes conspired to awaken a living sense for poetry. The heroes who in their incessant wars were distinguishing themselves by their exploits, required poets to perpetuate their glory to posterity. Above all, however, a new religious life and tendency arose after the ancient holy treasure, the Kaaba (*i.e. Die* from its

1 See De Sacy, in the Memoires de literature, T. 48. p. 517, sq.

2 See on these histories, which are much ornamented from Sagas, Reiske, De Arabum epocha vetustissima, Sail ol Arem, id est ruptura catarrhactae Marebensis dicta. Lips. 1748. De Sacy lib. cit. p. 488, sq. Ritter, s. 139, ff.

3 So called from خزع *abscidit separavit*, because whilst the other strangers left the region again, they separated from them and remained behind.

4 See on this Tychsen, De poeseos Arabum origine et indole antiquissima, in the Commentt. Soc. Reg. Gött. recentt. T. III. p. 250, sq.

appearance, also called بيت العتيق *Ancient House*), came into the possession of a foreign and thence most highly reverenced tribe.[1] The former guardians of the Kaaba, the Giorhamids, had defiled the Holy Place,[2] and with lamentation the last Giorhamid, Amru Ben Elharith, left the house "in which the dove that dwelt in its shadows, and the sparrow were safe," and threatened the proud conqueror with a fate similar to his own.[3] The new rulers re-adorned the Kaaba "with fine linen and variegated tapestry;"[4] a new Aramaic worship was introduced, instead of the ancient image-less worship, statues of idols were placed on the Kaaba;[5] Hobal הֻבַּעַל, the Great Baal absolutely so called (Münter, Relig. d. Babylon. s. 18, ff.) was reverenced,[6] also Asaf and Neilah;[7] from all quarters the pilgrims of the tribe flowed to the National Holy Place, where the newly organised worship was set up.—In this way there arose a reciprocal contact of the different tribes; languages and manners approximated, and were reciprocally interchanged; the northerns and southerns, formerly so different, found at length a common middle-point, and rivalry kindled mutual emulation. (Abulf. l. cit.)

So long as the Himyarites remained in possession of Southern

1 Sacrosancta quadam veneratione semper fuisse affectos, qui templi Meccani sacris praesiderent, ejusque aedis custodiam ac curationem *regni instar pontificalis* habitam, cui fasces summittere ipsi reges non dedignarentur. Schultens, monum. vet. Ar. p. 4.

2 Nuweiri ap. Schultens l. cit. p. 5.

3 See the beautiful poem ascribed to Amru, but greatly interpolated through oral tradition, in Schultens l. cit. p. 2 and p. 9, and De Sacy's remarks thereon, l. cit. tom. 50, p. 361, sq.

4 Comp. Schultens, p. 13, 14. De Sacy, p. 363, sq.

5 Amru Lochaiji filius *primus idola super Caabam posuit* eisque cultum exhibuit. Abulfeda, hist. Anteislam. p. 137, ed. Fleischer.

6 Probably this Idol had a special oracle, whose answers were given by means of *arrows*. Comp. Pococke, p. 96 sq., and 329. This also was borrowed from Aramæa, see Ezek. xxi. 21. [Consult the notes of Lowth, Newcome, and Fairbairn, on this passage.] Had the Tapestries above mentioned anything to do with this? I remember what Münter says, p. 63, ff., on the Babylonian tapestries; but see Reiske ad Abulf. I., p. 9. sq.

7 Abulfeda, l. cit. They were children of Amru, and we have here a trace of Hero-worship, which also was a Babylonian usage, Münter s. 29, ff. Comp. Pococke, p. 98.—The Dove-worship points also to Aramæa, see Pococke l. c. and Münter s. 33. Asaf and Neilah stood on the holy mountains near Mecca, Safa and Merva, Abulf. p. 180; on whose ancient sanctity, see Koran Sur. II. 153. Schult. Monum. p. 6. Comp. also Gesenius Vorrede zu Grambergs Gesch. Id. d. Relig. d. A. T. s. XV.

Arabia, they were markedly separated from the inhabitants of Middle Asia by a peculiar language. The overthrow of the Himyaritic power, and the centralization at Mecca, gave to the dialect of Mecca a general preponderance; a general language that could be commonly understood came, through the multifarious dialectical differences of the different tribes, to be a pressing desideratum (Nuweiri in Reiske's notes on Abulf. Ann. III. p. 308, sq.) This dialect of Mecca, which had already before the time of Muhammed come into general use as a written language, was by him still more widely introduced, and received the name *Arabic language* by way of eminence (Kor. Sur. 16. 103), also *Koreitish language*, from the Prophet's having sprung from that stock, and became the object of general admiration and praise.[1]

Of the old Himyaritic dialect very few traces are now to be found (among which may be reckoned that they pronounced وثب *wasaba*, not like the other Arabs, *wataba*); it appears, however, that, similar to its neighbour the Ethiopic,[2] it was simpler, and hence also allied to the Hebrew, although the difference can hardly be viewed as a very essential one, as the comparison of the Ethiopic especially shows (Ewald, Gr. Ar. I. p. 4).[3]—The old Arabic, spoken in the northern districts and the region bordering on the Euphrates, was certainly more allied to the Aramaic, which was the natural consequence of the geographical position of those using it, and their frequent intercourse with the Arameans.[4] The number of Jews also who since the second century have been located in Arabia must have contributed thereto by their Chaldaic language. To the same conclusion we are led by the great affinity, not merely of the vulgar-Arabic with the Aramaic (Gesenius, l. c. s. 47), but also the Ko-

1 Thus already in the Kor. Sur. xxvi. 195, 198; xli. 44.

2 The Ethiopians and the inhabitants of Yemen were certainly of the same stock; hence the name Cush is applied to both in the Old Testament. Winer Real-WB., s. 274.

3 [Since the above was written, great additions have been made to our acquaintance with the language of the Himyars by the discovery of the inscriptions on the Hhissn Ghurâb by Lieut. Welsted, and the learned labours on them and other similar inscriptions by Gesenius, Roediger, Ewald, Lassen, Fresnel, Wilson, Forster, and others. The reader will find accessible and valuable information on this curious subject in Dr John Wilson's Lands of the Bible, vol. ii. p. 746, ff., and in the American Bibliotheca Sacra for 1845, p. 297, ff.—Tr.]

4 Peiper carries this too far when he infers that the Himyaritic dialect was also Aramaic. De Moall. Lebidi, p. 72, sq.

reitic Arabic. In connection with this Tychsen has (l. cit. p. 284, sq.) acutely called attention to the fact that the signs of the oblique cases (in general of later origin, Ewald, § 330—332) may well be combined with Aramaic forms, the א of the status emphaticus with the ו of the accusative (comp. Ewald, § 337), the ـِين of the Dual with ין—, as also in the plural ـِينَ with ין—; since by these signs through cases the language took refuge in a dialect. See also on this Ewald, p. 155.

Although from the second to the fifth century a literary activity was diffused among the Arabs, we nevertheless possess no written documents belonging to this period any more than to the preceding.[1] Nothing is to be expected here but traditional wisdom, nothing but the scattered beginnings of a literature properly so called in this way forming itself. The marvellous power of memory of the Orientals, especially such tribes as live in a simpler state of nature, and the national pride which they cherish in the faithful retention of their family traditions, sufficiently account for this. Even up to the time of Muhammed, it was the custom of the Poets to recite even their longest poems on the spur of the moment,[2] and the older were transferred to posterity only by tradition, a custom which still continued to the latest age of the Islam.[3]

What remains belonging to this traditional age, in a more or less disfigured form, may be reduced to the following. First, *genealogies*, the knowledge of which even the Koran commends (Sur. xlix. 13), and for the preservation of which in each tribe there were persons especially commissioned (علم الانساب Abulf. 180, l. 7); these are indeed defective in particular instances, and from different motives corrupted, but nevertheless as a whole they form valuable documents of the most ancient legendary history.[4] Next to the genealogies stand individual historical facts, narrated under the date of specially memorable *Days*; in these, however, free scope

1 There are no sufficient grounds for believing in the existence of a literature now lost through violent means, as Görres suggests, Asiat. Mythengesch, II., s. 328.

2 Tarafae Moall. ed. Reiske, p. XL. Antara ed. Willmet Prolegg. p. 18.

3 Nuweiri in Rosenmüller Zoheiri Moall. p. 11.—Hartmann Forsch. ueb. d. Pentat. s. 292, ff.

4 Reiske's opinion is: "Arabes quoad tempora Christo anteriora, in *genealogiis suis aliquid*, in historia sua nihil scire (de Ar. Ep. Vetust. p. 29.) See Eichhorn, Monum. Ant. Hist. Ar. p. 18—58.

has been allowed to arbitary invention, and the legendary guise is unmistakeable.[1] Afterwards tradition found its expression in *Proverbs*, sentences full of naïve and pregnant brevity; these formed the vehicle of instruction in the early time (Creuzer Symbolik, I. 19, ff.), and contain not only general truths, but also many historical facts.[2] Moreover, after the restoration of the worship in the Caaba, there arose a holy *Temple-poetry*. The priestly-minded people, along with a multitude of holy ordinances (as appears from the enumeration of later usages, sanctioned even by the Islam Abulfeda p. 180, Herod. iii. 8), had certainly like the Hellenes at one time, their ἱεραοδοί and sacred poetry.[3] We place among these especially the following: 1. Fragments of ancient poetry, such as those collected by Schultens in his Monumenta. It may be, according to De Sacy's thoroughly discriminating investigation, that many of these poems are wrongly placed by Schultens in point of chronology, and have had assigned to them by him a much too high antiquity; nevertheless in some of them there is undeniably a spirit which savours only of antiquity. Thus the poems No. 1, 2, 4, containing clear references to the old Aramaic worship must be necessarily of older origin than the later songs of heroes, which have an entirely secular tendency. Very diverse indeed is the form in which these songs have come down to us, but this circumstance of itself indicates their old traditional origin, as even De Sacy himself acknowledges.[4] Exactly similar is the case of the Orphic hymns, the form of which may be as recent as you please, but which nevertheless conduct us back to the primitive temple-poetry and the remains of Orphic lore. Hence the remark of Tychsen, that the form and nature of these poems attest a more recent origin (lib. cit. p. 238) is not decisive; and as little is Reiske's sentence (ad Abulf. I. p. 9), that they are more prosaic than poetic. Schnurrer's reply to this is excellent (Bibl. Arab. p. 295): "Quid tamen si quis dixerit formas vocum sin-

[1] See Hartmann, Lib. cit. s. 287, ff.

[2] In many of these there are illustrative examples. See Schultens Monum. p. 38. Comp. Eichhorn l. cit. p. 14, sq.

[3] See Kreuser, der Hellenen Priesterstaat, s. 189, ff.

[4] P. 362, "Disons qu'un *ancien fragment de poesie conservé par une tradition orale* aura été altéré, tantôt par des omissions, tantôt par des interpolations qui ont produit toutes ces variantes.

[5] Creuzer Symb. III. s. 144, ff.

gulas vel obsoletas vel peregrinas sensim permutatas fuisse usitatioribus? Quod quidem facile accidere potuisse intelliget, qui cogitet, memoriter atque ore tantum traditos fuisse illos versus, non litteris consignatos: Quod autem arte carent et colore poetico, id tantum abest, ut contra eorum antiquitatem quidquam valeat, ut potius eandem confirmare videri possit." 2. Another branch of the sacred poetry of the old Arabs was the *Prophecies* which are to be found among them. Great reverence was paid by them to Oneiromancy (تعبير الرويا Abulf. p. 180), and other methods of soothsaying; great was their faith in omens and the power of curses and imprecations (Antara Moall. ver. 21 and the schol. thereon, also Willmet's note.) The Prophets (كاسن) thus formed a peculiar class, and even princes appear to have belonged to it.[1] These prophecies are comprised in short peculiar strophes composed without any art; those found of latter date imitate at least in this respect the earlier customary usage. (Tychsen, p. 242, sq.)

The Arabic language and literature acquired a new character from the general introduction, among those using it, of the art of writing, which came first into use in the 6th century, not long before Muhammed.[2] Two periods may be here distinguished. The former and more ancient was that to which a heroic character especially belonged; during it were produced the oldest poems of the Hamasah, a collection of ancient songs made in the first half of the 9th century by Abu Temmam. Some of these have quite the brief strophic construction of the old songs (Tychsen, p. 265), and bespeak at once a place among proper poetical productions. They want, however, an inner and higher tendency; strife and the sword form the loftiest ideal of their authors. A greater degree of cultivation is already apparent in the poems belonging to the second period, that immediately preceding Muhammed. In it the poetic life and effort reached their greatest point of elevation. This is proved by the legend of Tarafa, that he had neglected to feed his flocks for poetizing (Vullers ad Taraf. Moall. p. 17 and 76), and others similar; it is proved also by the contests and prize-

1 The King Sobeir had the surname الكاسن, Abulf. p. 136, 10, which indeed has respect only to his acuteness.

2 De Sacy, l. c. p. 248, sq. Ewald, p. 7, sq.

competitions, which took place every year in Okad;[1] we find even poetesses (Chansa and Leila, Eichhorn, Monum. p. 43 and 47) mentioned at this period. The tribes congratulated that one which produced a poet, and established festivals in his honour (Pococke, p. 160.) Particular poems of the older time, in which one object only was slightly touched (الابيات), were greatly extended (طوال), among which the Kasidas (قصيدة) were especially famous; a word, the meaning of which most probably is, "carmen studio et arte elaboratum."[2] In these there is apparent a wholly *put-together* character; the poet, beginning commonly with a delineation of his beloved (نسيبا), joins together a number of objects, which, however, are very loosely bound to each other. The grand aim in these rhapsodical songs is not the finishing off of the whole, but only the completion of each representation, in which the whole art of the poet is showed in the most manifold accumulation of synonymes and unusual expressions; here however the beginnings of art are apparent. The first Kasida poet must have been Mohallel, who also was the first to unite the erotic style with the heroic (Tychsen, p. 262, sq.) We have still extant, however, the far-famed seven *Moallakas* (*i. e.* The Suspended,—poems which, having gained the prize, were consequently suspended in the Kaaba),[3] the composition of Tarafa, Amru Ben Ketthum, Hareth, Amrulkeis, Artara, Soheir, and Lebid, valuable monuments of the old heroic spirit of the Arab chiefs, which celebrate their loves, their sword, their camel, and their horse.[4] That no more of these poems are preserved to us (though some erroneously suppose otherwise, see Tychsen, p. 257), is principally due to the rise of that new species of poetry of which the Islam in turn made an end. Under this period also fall the greater part of the poems of the formerly noticed *Hamasah* (الحماسة valour). The whole of this collection falls into ten sections, which are arranged according

[1] Pococke, Spec. p. 159. Schultens erroneously (Mon. p. 22) makes this a primitive custom; it probably originated at a period shortly before Muhammed.

[2] So Tychsen, p. 273. Otherwise Von Bohlen de Motenabb. p. 91. Comp. also Jones de Poesi As. p. 66, sq., ed. Eichhorn.

[3] This, however, is subject of controversy. See Hengstenberg ad Amrulk. M. p. 2, sq. They are called also "The Gilded," from the golden ornaments at the beginning and end of the rolls.

[4] An exact analysis of these is given by De Sacy, Mem. 50, p. 375, sq.

to their contents. Thus, 1. Heroic poems, the chief constituent of the whole, from which the collection takes its name (باب الحماسة); 2. Elegies; 3. Elegant Literature (الادب); 4. Erotic poems; 5. Satires; 6. Songs in praise of hospitality (الاضياف); 7. Descriptions (المدائح); 8. Travelling sketches (السير والنعس); 9. Facetious poems; 10. Satires and Eulogies on women. We possess in this also an Anthology, having reference to the different branches of poetical literature, and thus highly instructive, which was in the highest esteem among the Arabs, so that of Abu Temmam, himself a poet, it was said that by this collection he had surpassed himself in poetry.[1] Of less value is the supplement to this called the *Little Hamasah*, compiled fifty years later by Bahri, and divided into 176 chapters. A similar collection of poems is the *Divan of the Hudeilites*, which also proceeded from this stock, but only small fragments of it are known.

§ 24. THE CORAN AND MUHAMMEDAN LITERATURE.

A new epoch for the Arabic language was formed by the appearance of the book which is regarded as the rule of faith among the adherents of the Islam. According to its own statements, it was revealed to the Prophet in one night[2] (Sur. 97), a passage which, however, stands in contradiction to many others which clearly indicate that the utterances of the Coran occurred to Muhammed separately, and on different occasions. The same contradiction occurs in the Arabic Historiographers, who, though they speak of the Coran as a whole[3] at the beginning of Muhammed's appearance (Abulf. Annal. I. 38, ed. Adler), yet afterwards enumerate the different portions in which it was communicated (see Rink

1 Schultens Præf. ad Erpen. Gram. Arab. p. cxxxi.

2 ليلة القدر. On the meaning of this the Arabic commentators themselves are divided; according to some قدر is *magnitudo*, to others *decretum*.

3 المصحيفة, codex, liber. cf. Reiske ad Abul. I. 270.

in the Fundgruben d. Or. I. 140,) It received its name (القرآن)[1] from the well-known story that Gabriel taught Muhammed to read (Sur. 96, 1—3, comp. De Sacy l. cit. p. 296.) Already even in the time of Muhammed there were portions of the Coran committed, at least for the most part, to writing (De Sacy, p. 305, sq.), and persons made it their special business to read and preserve (القرا) these (Abulf. I. 212, 268.) But it was not till the 13th year of the Hedschra, two years after Muhammed's death, that Abubeker undertook the collecting of them into one whole (Abulf. I. 212; Elmacin, Hist. Sarac., p. 18; Erpen. de Sacy, p. 312.) Already, in the time of Osman, a variety of different readings were observed, in consequence of which he caused a number of copies to be taken from the Codex of Abubeker which had been deposited with Hafsa, Muhammed's wife, caused them to be distributed, and rendered obsolete the rest (Abulf. l. c. and p. 264.) As another consequence of these differences, the vocalisation of the Coran was undertaken (De Sacy, p. 320, sq.) The Coran is divided into 114 surahs or chapters, the names of which are taken sometimes from the subjects treated of in them, sometimes from some person or object named (in many cases cursorily), sometimes from letters, the meaning of which, from their being probably abbreviations, it is very difficult to detect (see Gagnier ad Abulf. vit. Muh. p. 22, sq.) The subscription usually contains the information that the Surah was revealed either in Mecca or Medina, as well as the statement of the verses, in which, however, as formerly in the Text, there are many various lections.[2] Before three Surahs (2, 30, and 31), there stands an obscure word الم, to which even the Muhammedans attach different meanings; it is probably an abbreviation (Freytag, Lex. Ar. I. 51.)

In the *language* of the Coran there is much that is peculiar. It is on the whole harsh and rugged, and exhibits many unusual forms. It rarely assumes either in form (see Tychsen l. cit. p. 278) or in substance a poetical strain; when this does occur, Mu-

1 Properly *reading*, قرأ proprie est de libro, quem coram habes, aliquid recitare تلو autem e corde vel memoria recitare. Reiske ad Abulf. I., p. 26.

2 Comp. Rink lib. cit. s. 129, ff.

hammed has for the most part been indebted for it to earlier writers (see Michaelis, Vom Arab. Geschmack, s. 39, ff.); in general it is flat and prosaic, a fault which the rhyme at the end of each verse does nothing to relieve. The relation of Muhammedanism to the existing Heathenism, Judaism, and Christianity, and its consequent syncretic tendency, gave also to the language an entirely new hue. Hence we find here as an immediate result, an entirely new circle of religious ideas and expressions,[1] which, however, gradually passed into civil life, and here also partly produced new modes of expression[2] or antiquated older ones, and gave them a new sense.[3]

The Coran, assuming to be the Book of Books (Hottinger, Hist. Orient., p. 300), denounces disbelief in a single verse of it as the greatest of sins (Reland de relig. Moh., p. 25), and commends the reading of it as the most beneficial exercise (Ibid. p. 103.) Hence, whilst on the one hand it exerted an incalculable influence on the later literature of the Arabs, by repressing the free spiritual development of the people; on the other hand, it gave rise to many controversies, which occasioned, immediately on their appearance, an exact study of the language.[4] Hence already in the first centuries of the Hedschra, grammatical studies flourished among the Arabs; the learned schools of Kufa and Basra espe-

1 As the كفر, كافيرين of unbelief, وقي (and its derivatives) of religious reverence, piety, مشركون idolaters, &c.; foreign idioms, as افسد في الارض to produce corruption on the earth, *i.e.* to propagate ungodly doctrines (Maracci on Sur. ii. 11), جادل في سبيل الله *pugnare in via Dei*, &c. Comp. the valuable essays of Dettinger, entitled Beiträge zur Theologie des Koran, in the Tübinger Zeitschrift 1831, H. 3. and 1834, H. 1.

2 As *e. gr.* the new chronological system, with the names of the days, years, and months. See Ideler Handb. d. Chronol. II. 494, ff.

3 Such as the ancient names of kings, as Tobai, in place of the later synonymous term, Caliph (Pococke Spec., p. 65); also the transformation of the conception غمدان (Fleischer on Abulf., p. 224), and other ancient words referring to old usages and customs (Pococke, p. 323, sq.), to which also the old Arabic royal greeting ابيت اللعن (abnuas maledictionem, Poc. p. 56), and others belong.

4 See for the Literature of the Coran, Hottinger Bibl. Orient., p. 105, sq. Schnurrer Bibl. Arab. p. 401, sq.

cially distinguished themselves. Elchalil and Sibawaih in the 2d century were the most celebrated of these grammarians (comp. De Sacy, Anthol. Grammaticale Arabe. Paris, 1829); and even till the present age this branch of Arabic science has continued to be cultivated (see Gesenius, Hall. Ency. V. 50, ff.) The most important works are those of the lexicographers Dschauhari (died 398 of the Hedschra) and Firuzabadi, author of the important Kamus, of which a complete edition appeared at Calcutta in 1817, two vols. folio (died 817 of the H.) In these indeed, comprehensive as they are, it is only an empiric knowledge of the language, which does not penetrate into the essence and inner organic development of it, that is supplied (Ewald, Abhandll. z. Oriental. und Bibl. Literat. s. 13, ff.)

In the early times of the Islam there was thus displayed also a certain literary activity, which the Coran, which itself commends poetry and learning, did not impede. The moral proverbs of Ali[1] also recommend learning and arts, and are themselves rich in genius and feeling. Yet the Coran gave not only to the whole language a character of fixedness, but also a character of narrowness to the whole literature. Besides the Coran, people occupied themselves chiefly with the collecting of the traditional sayings of Muhammed, known under the name of the Sunnah (see Von Hammer, in the Fundgruben, Th. I. s. 144, ff., 277, ff.; comp. Pococke, Spec. p. 298, sq. Hottinger, Bibl. Or. p. 163, sq.)—But the rise of the Chalifat, the rude warlike feeling, and the bold spirit of conquest which had seized the nation, were inimical to the peaceful growth of learning. As towards the end of the rule of the Ommajades, and under the Abbassides, about the middle of the 8th century, the Chalifat first lost its ancient heroic severity, and the primitive simplicity of the Arab life was relinquished, we may fix a new intellectual era from that, which, however, bore still the mark of a degenerate age. "In Persia they could become familiar with wine, music, mimicry, and dancing; tales come out of Egypt and Persia; architecture and medicine were transported out of Greece into Syria and Egypt." (Leo, Gesch. d. Mittelalters I. 225.) Bag-

1 Edited by Waehnen (Oxon. 1806, 4to.) In it, it is true, many things of more recent origin are to be found, but it has much also of genuinely ancient wisdom. See Stickel, Sentent. Ali (Jen. 1834, 4to) Præf. p. 11, sq.—Clearly spurious are the poems of Ali, edited by Kuypers (Ludg. Bat. 1745, 8vo), see Schultens, Bibl. Crit. I. 2, 80.

dad, the new residence of the Abbassides, became the centre whence various kinds of knowledge spread abroad, favoured by the Chaliphs, such as Mahadi, Haroun Alraschid, Almamun, Almotassem, &c. Even when the power of the Chalifat was overthrown, and individual provinces became the object of strife among the governors, science flourished under the new rulers, especially in Persia and Egypt. Especially distinguished in this respect was the kingdom held by the Ommajades in Spain.[1]

Poetry at this time revived, not only of the lyric, but also of the heroic species; in the latter, through Abu Temmam (died 845, comp. Reiske ad Abulf. ann. II. p. 688), who collected the Hamasah; in the former, through Abu Naves (died 810; "homo faceti ingenii," Reiske, l. c. p. 657.) Writers of Kasidas also arose, such as Ibn Doreid of Basora, who reminds one of the old poetry, and who was also the author of several grammatical works (died 933; Scheid ad Idn Doreid, Idyll. init.), and many besides, whose names, with a few fragments alone, remain to us (Von Bohlen, de Motenabbio, p. 81, sq.) In different sorts of poetical composition Motenabbi exercised himself in the 10th century, who, however, bears all the marks of a degenerate age, one swallowed up in flattery, covetousness, luxury, and irreligion, and hence must not be judged by the extravagant praises of his cotemporaries, who, ignorant of the ancient poetry, perceived not his imitation of it (Von Bohlen, p. 37, sq.) The mode of rewarding poems which then prevailed was calculated to exert a most pernicious influence. "Had the verses been more numerous, there had been more dirhems," said Abu Naves, when 300,000 dirhems were given him for three verses; Motenabbi indited his eulogies according to the rate of a specified sum (Von Bohlen, p. 27.) Very characteristic of his age is Abulola, who died 1057; less of a free-thinker than Motenabbi, he is full of passages which bear a mystic character—he was himself a member of an ascetic sect—with scoffings at all existing religions except the Muhammedan,—the Persius of his day; and hence there is a properly outward and inward mystical sense to be discriminated in his writings (Abulf. III. 63, sq.; Reiske, p. 677, sq.) Tograi, his contemporary, is especially known by his Lam-song, each verse of which ends with the letter *lam* (*l*).

[1] See Middeldorpf, De institutis literariis in Hispania, quae Arabes auctores habuerunt. Gott. 1810, 4to.

In the 12th century Meidani rendered service by the collecting of gnomes (Maschals); the proverbs are for the most part individual, and full of rich references to Arabic modes of thought and feeling, which, however, render them difficult to be understood without the aid of the scholiasts. Sentences of a more general kind are contained in the later collections of Zamachshari and Abu Madin. Proper lyric poetry sunk ever lower and lower into a mere empty formal existence (see *e. gr.* Abulf. III. p. 474, sq.) Of this sort is the poem of Al-Busiris, called *Borda*,[1] composed in honour of Muhammed, and very highly esteemed by all Mumammedans (Herbelot, Bibl. Or. sub. voc. Borda.) At length this kind of poetry fell into mere allegorical and mystical compositions (such as those of Omar Ibn al Faredh, died 1244, Azneddin Almokadessi, died 1280, &c.); these were for the most part called forth by the earlier pantheistic Philosophical sects (see Tholuck, Ssufismus, p. 45, sq.) Poetry degenerated into mere rhyme; even grammar, astronomy, and similar prosaic subjects were thus treated, and nothing of poetry remained but the form. Oratory was the best adapted to this, because there the discourse assumes a sort of poetic strain, though its object is properly didactic; a number of puns and enigmas gave a piquancy and attractiveness to the whole. The most famous work of this sort is the Fifty Makamen (consessus, conversations) of Hariri (died 1120.) Also the collections of tales must be reckoned here, among which those of the Thousand and One Nights are the most famous. Of these the original must have been Persic (Fundgr. d. Or. I. 55), and the language approaches to the vulgar Arabic. Of fables the Arabic literature possesses two collections of especial distinction; the one of Indian origin, translated into the Arabic from the Persic, and containing rules of wisdom for a monarch set forth in fables of animals—the Calila ve Dimna, the fable book of Bidpai, which has been translated into many tongues, and is the source even of many romantic poems of the middle age in the west; the other Lokman's Fables, whose author is lauded in the Coran, and the tradition is that he belonged to the age of Solomon; they resemble in point of matter extremely the fables of Æsop and Phaedrus, but over their origin and preserva-

[1] *Borda* orientalibus dicitur pannus striatus et ex tali genere panni confecta vestis domestica quotidiani usus. Reiske l. l. I., p. 35, cll. p. 10.

tion great obscurity hangs. (Comp. Hottinger, Hist. Or. p. 68, sq. Schultens ad Elnawab. p. 112. Celsius I. § 16.)

At a later period than the poetical, historical literature arose among the Arabs. In point of historical character the Arabic writers of history in general have the greatest affinity with the Chronicle-writers of the middle ages, and in many respects also with the historical books of the Bible. They are wholly annalists, without historical Pragmatism [Pragmatismus] or connecting of events, and the chronology affords the only thread by which the transactions they narrate are united. This lies in the very name they give to history, تاريخ, *Chronicle* from ارخ, to note the *time* in which anything is done; hence *e. gr.* also to date a letter. They frequently cite the sources from which they compile word for word; they delight in little historical details, anecdotes, traits of character, descriptions of persons, for which they often neglect weightier matters, and none of them is free from exaggeration, love of the marvellous and credulity. Many of them indicate a religious spirit and a theocratic theory of mundane events. Most of them make the history of literature an object of importance, and hence they adduce much information respecting the scholars and poets, their lives and their writings, and, in the case of the poets, also specimens of their poems. The writers of Universal History treat it usually, according to Dynasties, of which the Hebrew patriarchs and the kings of Israel usually form the first. Of all ancient and foreign peoples, however, their accounts are very insipid and superficial; those of the Arabs are proportionately fuller, and next to them those of the Persians. The biblical history is tricked out with numerous traditions. The most of the annalists become more copious as they approach their own time, and when they narrate events of which they were eye-witnesses, or in which they had a hand, they are apt to become prolix. The language is for the most part simple, and with many it is even negligent. Only a few have sought to give a rhetorical dress to their narratives, and have written their works in poetic and rhymed prose (سجع), which, to our taste, indeed, is for the most part intolerably inflated and bombastic.[1] Though historians have been named belonging

[1] Gesenius, l. c. p. 64 and 65. Comp. with this J. D. Michaelis, Vorr. z. Arab. Gr. s. 57, ff.; also Klaproth, Asia Polyglotta, p. 1—16.

to the early centuries of the Hedschra (see Frähn on Ibn Foszlan, p. 13, sq.), it was not till the third century of the Hedschra that a proper and more comprehensive writing of history began, when Hescham recorded the genealogy, and Abn Obediah the battles of the Ante-Muhammedan Arabs; Ibn Hescham (died 828) wrote on the genealogy of the Himjarites and a life of Muhammed.[1] The oldest historian of that time now extant is Al Wakedi, who recorded the wars and conquests of Muhammed and his first followers, though not without fabulous and superstitious tales (Köhler I. 62, ff.) Of more weight, therefore, is Ibn Koteibah in his narratives of the most ancient Arabic histories. The author of the first universal history is Abu Dschafar Attabari (commonly called Taberita), a famous Fakee in Bagdad (died 922); he is careful in the citing of his authorities, and is authentic; the most of the later writers have copied from him (Köhler, s. 69, ff.) In the same century flourished Massudi, also a writer of Universal History (Notices et extraits de la bibl. du Roi, tom. I. p. 1, sq.), and Hamza of Ispahan; he wrote a chronicle in ten books (Köhler, III. 263, ff.) In the tenth century, the Patriarch of Alexandria, Eutychius (Said Ibn Batrik), merits special notice; in the twelfth, the biographers of Saladin, Amadoddin his scribe, who writes in a very inflated style, and Bohaeddin, a follower of Saladin, and as such the eye-witness of many of the events he narrates; his style is much more pleasing (Schnurrer, p. 148, sq.) In the thirteenth century, the Christian Arabs (Elmacin, Abulpharadj, &c.) competed with the Muhammedans (Ibn al Atsir, Abu Sacharja, Ebn Chalican, &c.) in the writing of comprehensive history. Among the latter the most distinguished is the learned Sultan (independent prince) of Hamath in Syria, Abulfeda, whose Annals of the Muhammedans furnish the richest sources for the history of the East; they are brought down to his own time (1315), and have been continued to a later date by Ibn Asschohnah (see Köhler, II., 54, ff.; Schnurrer, p. 177, sq.) In the fourteenth century, the names occur of Al Macrizi and Nuweiri, in the fifteenth that of Achmed Ibn Arabshah (Arabsiades), the eulogist of Timur, full of many poetic episodes, and written in an

[1] Comp. Köhler, Nachrichten Von Einigen Arab. Geschichtschr, im Repert. fur Bibl. und Morgenl. Liter. II. 25, ff.

oratorical strain, but overdone and full of hyperboles (Schnurrer, p. 136, sq.), and that of Dsemaleddin, the historian of Egypt, his native country. In the sixteenth century, Emir Mustapha Ben Hussein wrote a history of the Chalifat of the Tartar, Turkish, and Indian dynasties; in the seventeenth, Abulabbas Achmed Addimaschki composed an Universal History, and Hadshi Chalfa a famous bibliographical work, &c.—With history among the Arabs, *geography* stood closely connected, and their most famous historians of the more recent times are also their best geographers.[1] In the latter, however, they depend chiefly upon the Greeks, and especially Ptolemy, so that their accounts of countries are of value only when they treat of those with which they were familiar.[2] The most famous geographers are Abulfeda, Ibn Haukal, Massudi, Al Edrisi, Ibn al Wardi, Abdollatiph, Ibn Foszlan, Ibn Batuta, &c.

The *philosophical* efforts of the Arabs, as they were put forth especially under the Abbassides, allied themselves to the Greek schools of Plato and Aristotle (see more particularly on this the works on the History of Philosophy.) This communicated to the language a new kind of cultivation, and a speculative depth especially pleasing to the mystical philosophers, so that the most abstract, and even in our modes of speech the most peculiar conceptions (as Absolute, Abstraction, &c.) find their expression in the Arabic. With the philosophy of the Arabs, their *theological* and *juridical science* stands in immediate relation. From the second century of the Hedschra writers in all these departments arose among the Muhammedans whose works are of importance (Tholuck, die speculative Trinitaetslehre des spaet. Or. s. 3. ff.—Bernstein de initiis et originibus religionum in Oriente Dispers. p. 26, sq.)

Also in the *mathematical* sciences the Arabs allied themselves to the Greeks, though here also they carried out independent investigations. Astronomy, especially is indebted to them, for this became an object of chief study in their schools of learning. "It was principally in the department of observation that they made use of it; as regards the theory, they retained it in much the same state as they found it in the astronomical system of Ptolemy" (see

1 On their geographical literature, see Frähn on Ibn Foszlan, p. xiv. sq.

2 The learned travels of the Arabs are in this respect especially valuable. Frähn, l. c. p. vi. sq.

the classical work of Ideler, Untersuchungen über den Urspr. und die Bedeút. der Sternnamen, especially s. XLIII. ff., compared with Gesenius, lib. cit. s. 67, ff.)[1]

Since the 15th century, the Arabic has undergone, especially as a spoken tongue, a marked change, which has given to the language a new character. Not only in the provinces remote from the motherland, but also in Arabia, Syria, and Egypt, the vulgar-Arabic took the place of the ancient written language. The latter consequently suffered in point of cultivation and variety, but nevertheless the language returned considerably to ancient simplicity and to its original form, so that it approximates much more to the Hebrew and the Aramaic than the older Arabic, and hence furnishes much that is valuable for the profounder study of these languages. Of foreign words it is chiefly from the Turkish that the vulgar-Arabic has borrowed.[2] As respects grammars of the vulgar-Arabic, the best are those of Dombay (Vindob. 1800), Herbin (Paris, 1803), Caussin de Perceval (Paris, 1824.) Comp. also Habicht Epistolae aliquot Arabb. (Vratislav. 1824.)

Among helps to the learning of the Old Arabic, are to be named the following. The *Grammar* has been especially treated by Erpenius (ed. A. Schultens ed. 2. 1767), J. D. Michaelis (2te Aufl. Gött., 1781), Jahn (Wien, 1796), De Sacy (ed. 2 Paris, 1829), Rosenmüller (Auszug aus de Sacy, Lips., 1819), Lumsden (Calcutta, 1813), Ewald (Gött., 1831, 33, 2 voll.) The *Prosody* has been handled according to the theories of the national Grammarians especially in Freytag's Arab. Verskunst (Bonn, 1830.) Of *Lexicons* may be named Giggeii Thesaurus Ling. Arab. (Mediol., 1632, 4 vol. fol.), Castelli in Lex. Heptaglotton, Golius (Leyden, 1653), Meninsky (ed. de Jenisch, Vienn., 1780, 4 voll., including also the Persic and Turkish), and the recently published work of Freytag, which is intended to occupy four volumes. A dictionary of special value is the Lexicon Arab. of Willmet (Rotterd., 1784, 4to), adapted to the Coran, Hariri and the Vita Timuri.[3] Of Arabic

1 On the natural-historical, and medical sciences of the Arabs, wherein they chiefly learned from the Syrians, see Sprengel, in the Hall. Encycl. l. c. s. 69, ff.

2 Niebuhr has stated too strongly the difference between the vulgar-Arabic and the older written language (Beschreib. von Arab. s. 84.) See, on the other side, some excellent remarks in Caussin de Perceval, gram. Arab. Vulg. Pr. p. 11. Comp. also Jahn, Einl. ins A. T. I. 267.

3 See the full literature of the Grammars and Lexicons in Schnurrer Bibl. Arab. p. 1—110.

Chrestomathies the principal are those of Rosenmüller (Arab. Element. und Leseb. Leipz.. 1799), the Works of Jahn (Vienn., 1802), Wahl, Hirt, Rink, Oberleitner, de Sacy, Rosegarten (Lips., 1828), Humbert (Paris, 1834), Freytag, &c.

From the intimate connection from the earliest times between South Arabia and Ethiopia (comp. Winer, Reallex. I. 274, ff.), it has arisen that we have in the Ethiopic language a remnant of the old himjaritic speech lost even to the Arabic itself. In this ancient written language (the *Geez* language), we possess a translation of the Bible and other church writings, of which the most important is the translation of the Book of Enoch. The language has a simpler character than the more cultivated Arabic, and approaches more to the Hebrew and Aramaic idiom; in the 14th century, it was driven out by *Amharic*, and is now only a language of learning. The Grammar has been written by H. Ludolf, ed 2. Francof. ad. M. 1702, fol. Comp. with Hupfeld, Exercitationes Aethiopicae, Lips., 1825, 4to. H. Ludolf also composed a Lexicon with the aid of many MSS. (ed 2 Francof. ad M. 1699, fol.) Comp. Gesenius in the Halle Encycl. II. 110, ff.; the Travels of Bruce, Rüppell, &c.

§ 25. HEBREW LANGUAGE—ITS NAMES AND DESIGNATIONS.

The name *Hebrew language* is undoubtedly a designation of the language spoken by the Hebrew people. For, that the name עִבְרִים signifies the *perished, obsolete*, and hence denotes a *dead* language (Augusti Einl. § 19), is against the meaning of עֵבֶר, and is altogether without sense. This brings us to consider the designation *Hebrews*, as a name of the people in its relations to other names of the people.

The first mention of this name occurs Gen. x. 21, "Shem had also children; he is the father of all the *sons of Heber* (בְּנֵי עֵבֶר.") This description of the Semitic genealogies shows that the author designed to render noticeable the connection between Shem the common ancestor and a tribe of especial importance descended from him through Heber. The descent is more fully stated in ver. 24 (Shem—Arphachsad—Shelah—Heber), and

in ch. xi. 14 this genealogy is resumed and continued down to Abraham. In the time of Phaleg the son of Heber the dispersion of the nations over the earth occurred (x. 25, comp. xi. 1, ff.). Thus Heber was the last of the patriarchs descended from Shem previous to the division of the peoples, and the beginning of new lines which, in the midst of the mass of peoples that diverged into manifold branches, founded and propagated a peculiar chosen race. Hence in Genesis Abraham is called a descendant of Heber (הָעִבְרִי); to him the misfortune of Lot, his relative, was notified as his ally by race, who as long as he was in the vicinity was especially bound to hasten to help him (comp. the context of the passage xiv. 13.) Thus the descendants of Abraham called themselves Hebrews (Gen. xl. 15), and were also by others so named (Gen. xxxix. 14, 17; xli. 12).—When, however, the people were divided into twelve tribes, the name they received as most appropriate was taken from that of the new father of the race, *Jacob* or *Israel* (the latter more used in prose, the former in poetry), the latter involving a theocratic reference (hence יִשְׂרָאֵל, קְהַל יִשְׂרָאֵל, עֲדַת יִשְׂרָאֵל, &c.), and accordingly this word may be used alone in an emphatic sense for the right, the true Israel. (Ps. xxiv. 6; Micah ii. 7; Hos. viii. 2.) The name Hebrew retains merely an ethnographical sense, and is used only where the people in their purely political and external aspect, not as the people of the covenant, are spoken of. So throughout the Pentateuch and the older historical books. At a later period the name passed almost out of use, as after the separation of the kingdoms Israel, in opposition to Judah, ceased to be a genuine theocratic designation, and became gradually one merely political (in 1 Kings xii., where we have the regular use of כָּל-יִשְׂרָאֵל, we may detect the transition to this usage.) Only the Prophets, viewing this separation from a theocratic point of view, use the name Israel not in the simply historical, but in the old theocratic sense (see Gesenius on Is. i. 371), so that with them it may have either a good or a bad sub-meaning (Hengstenberg, Christol. II. 273.)

This in itself sufficiently coherent usage of the names Hebrew and Israelite, rests on the derivation of both as given in the Scriptures. With regard to the latter, no doubt has been felt in this respect by any; but of the former, various have been the meanings

adopted. Some Fathers of the church have erroneously derived it from Abraham (Ambrose, Augustin.) The chief source of misunderstanding was the LXX. rendering of Gen. xiv. 13 (*ἀπήγγειλον Ἄβραμ τῷ περάτῃ*), which many of the Fathers took for the correct meaning, and which in recent times has found a defender especially in Walton (Prolegg. p. 68, sq. Dathe [in the Polyglott, p. 15]), and with less acuteness has been supported by some later rationalist theologians (see Gesenius Gesch. s. 11. Winer Reallex. I. 555.) Those who adopt this view take the epithet attached to Abraham's name הָעִבְרִי in the sense of *advena*, and refer it to his crossing of the Euphrates when he came from Mesopotamia towards Canaan. No one has ever been able to show any grounds in Scripture for this appellation, and it does not at all suit even the context of Gen. xiv. 13, where such an appellation would be purely meaningless.[1] This is also confuted clearly by the poetical usage in the Pentateuch of עֵבֶר instead of עִבְרִי, as *Jacob* is used for the descendants of Jacob (Numb. xxiv. 24.) Utterly futile is the reason assigned by Gesenius that it is a case of mythical derivation (Hebrews from Heber) of the same historical worth with the Greek derivations, *Aeolians* from *Aeolus*, &c. We may pass this by as a mere dogmatical presumption; the groundlessness and arbitrariness of it are manifest from this, that the name *Israelites* might just as well be ascribed to a mythical origin. Walton's argument that as nothing remarkable is related of Heber, a name might as well have been given to Abraham from any other of the patriarchs who lived between, is set aside by what has been already stated. But Genesis speaks distinctly of a family of Heber, which dwelt in Chaldea, whilst the other descendants of Heber were dispersed (x. 25), and here arose the house of Abraham's father (xii. 1.) He remained, therefore, in that casé a very important ancestor of Israel. Moreover, against this etymology the following considerations may be adduced. 1. The grammar. For if we do not derive the form immediately from the verb עָבַר as the older writers do—in which sense also Hartmann (Ling. Einl. s. 159) translates הָעִבְרִים, *those who have travelled over*, which would require הָעֹבְרִים, comp. Ez. xxxix. 11)—but, with

1 Let any one consider only the unmistakeable antithesis between אַבְרָם הָעִבְרִי and מִמֵּרְא הָאֱמֹרִי.

Gesenius, derive it from עֵבֶר, *i.e.* עֵ֣בֶר הַנָּהָ֗ר, the land lying beyond the Euphrates, and suppose the Canaanites to have thus named the company of Abraham, we shall here also be in perplexity. For in that case עִבְרִי must always mean "an inhabitant of that land," as צָפוֹנִי, "an inhabitant of the north," so that it could not denote the immigration of Abraham, and thereby would omit the circumstance which was the characteristic one. 2. Had the circumstance of the immigration occasioned the name, and had the latter been on this account given by the Canaanites, it would have been applicable equally to the descendants of Lot (the Ammonites and Moabites.) The only explanation of this circumstance is that by the term *Hebrews* were designated the proper descendants of Heber in a restricted sense, and the Abrahamic family assumed this name to distinguish them from all the descendants of Heber who were not in that particular line.

The name *Hebrew language* does not occur in the Old Testament. In place of this we have once שְׂפַת כְּנַעַן, Is. xix. 18, emphatically the language of the holy land consecrated to Jehovah, as contrasted with that of the profane Egypt. After the overthrow of the kingdom of Israel, the names *Judah* and *Jews* become the designation of the whole people (Jer. xxxiv. 9; Dan. iii. 8; Esth. iii. 6., &c.) Hence, though the expression *Jews' language* occurs (Is. xxxvi. 11, 13) as a designation of the language of the kingdom of Judah; yet, in Nehem. xiii. 24, we find this expression already used in the wider sense.

As the difference between the hellenistic Jews and those of Palestine became more and more marked, the designations Ἰουδαῖος and Ἑβραῖος came to be used distinctively—the former for the nation as such, the latter for the Jews of Palestine (comp Carpzov, Exercitt. Philon. in Epist. ad Hebraeos, Prolegg. p. 3, sq.) Even the classical writers observe this distinction (comp. the passages cited by Reland, Palast, p. 15.) Where the national literature and language is spoken of, the proper expression is ἑβραϊκὸς (comp. Hug, Einl. ins N. T. II. 47.) Thus, in the Prologue of the son of Sirach, the *Hebrew* (ἑβραϊστὶ λεγομενα) is contrasted with every other speech (ἑτέραν γλῶσσαν.) Hence the γλῶσσα τῶν Ἑβραίων, ἡ Ἑβραϊκὴ διάλεκτος, &c. It does not in this usage denote simply the old Hebrew (as *e.g.* in Joseph. Antiqq. 1, 2), but also the later Aramäic speech of the

country of Palestine (Jos. de Maccab. §. 14; and in the New Testament frequently as *e. gr.* John v. 2; xix. 23.[1]) In the later Jewish writers (as in the Targumists), the Hebrew language is often called לְשָׁן קִידְשָׁא comp. Buxtorf, Lex. Chald. Rabb. p. 1160, in contrast to the Aramäic (לְשׁוֹן חוֹל) comp. *e. gr.* the Book Cosri P. II., p. 132, Buxtorf.

§ 26. ANTIQUITY OF THE HEBREW LANGUAGE.

The Scripture informs us historically that after the Flood, there prevailed a general *community of language*, Genes. xi. 1.[2] The pride of men, showing itself in deeds (ver. 4), was, by Divine intervention, so frustrated, that exactly the opposite of what they aimed at, viz., the securing a common point of unity, was the result of their undertaking; their speech was confused, and they were scattered over the face of the earth, ver. 9.

Here a question has at all times arisen interesting to theologians. Of what sort was that common language of the foretime, and in what relations did it stand to those languages, especially, which we find at a later period among the decendants of Abraham? It is clear that this question can be satisfactorily answered only by those who regard this part of the biblical narrative as true history. Those who, like the mass of recent interpreters, look at it from a mythical point of view, cannot possibly obtain any results. Gesenius (s. 14) says that, as respects the antiquity and origin of the Hebrew language, if we do not take this mythical account we find ourselves *totally deserted by the historian.* This ought to bring us back to the biblical statement, since we find nothing in it incompatible with historical veracity, and it has in its support the analogy of other traditions,—of the indigenous Babylonians (Abydenus in Euseb. Praep. Evang. IX. 41, Chron. Arm. p. 51, 59, ed. Aucher),

[1] The passage in Philo (de vita Mosis I. II. p. 509 ed. Colon.), according to which the original of the Pentateuch was written in *Chaldaic* (that this is the meaning the context clearly proves, cf p. 510), shows how much the Alexandrians of that time had lost the knowledge of the difference of the dialect, and is to be ascribed to Philo's ignorance in this department.

[2] The words שָׂפָה and דְּבָרִים, which are frequently erroneously construed, stand here in no other sense than אִמֶּר and דְּבָרִים, Ps. xix. 4, *language, speech*, and express consequently the minutely exact, the thoroughly complete unity of the languages.

and of the Greeks (Philo, de confus ling. p. 251, ed. Colon. Comp. Plato, Polit. p. 272.) The reasons which some have urged against the literal interpretation of the statement out of the narrative itself are hardly worth notice.[1] They begin with one of a *dogmatical* kind: "Monstrous and contradictory (??) miracles must in such a case have occurred." As if Rationalism had fully accounted for the "miracle" of the diversity of languages, and did not stand in respect of this on the very same spot as the sages of antiquity, who ascribed this difference to the beginning of the world (Diod. Sic. lib. I. init.), which is as little satisfactory as the naturalist mode of accounting for evil in general. It is only when we take into view the sin of man, on the one hand, the proud, self-flattering, egoistic principle in the human mind, and on the other the Providence of God working in the predisposed separation a higher unity (by means of a chosen race), both of which are excellently combined in Scripture, that this problem can be satisfactorily solved.—But this narrative is also incompatible with "the history of the Shemitic family, whose dialects of a later date are so allied that a common language must be regarded as lying at their source." There is here this much of truth, that the linguistic difference gradually manifested itself more and more widely, and increased as the language was cultivated and the races of people multiplied. But that this does not exclude the supposition of a difference beginning in and proceeding from the fact narrated is clear, for in that case an absolute opposition must have occurred between the original oneness of speech and the later divergence,[2] the very opposite of which is expressly maintained.—In fine, it is asserted that Gen. x. 25 is in opposition to this story, for there we are told that Noah divided the earth among his sons, whence the variety of languages would arise. (So Gabler, s. 226.) But of this there is not a word in the passage cited; on the contrary, the statement נִפְלְגָה הָאָרֶץ

1 The majority of modern objectors do not trouble themselves to assign any reasons, as if the matter was one to be decided by mere authority; which is exactly in keeping with Rationalism, than which no faith is more thoroughly based on mere groundless assertion. Gabler, in his Urgeschichte II. 2, s. 224, chiefly enters into this question, and to him our strictures principally relate.

2 [I suppose the author means here, that had the later divergences been the result of some *inherent* tendency in the language, and not such as an occurrence like the one in question might occasion, the result in process of time would have been, not mere dialectical differences, but a total distinction of language.—Tr.]

(the earth was divided) presupposes the narrative before us, and stands in the strictest connection with it.—Moreover, the mythical interpretation of this passage, as it has lately been set forth by Hartmann, Forsch. üb. d. Pent. s. 407, ff., contains an inevitable self-contradiction which is utterly fatal to it. We must regard the object of the author to have been, on the one hand, to give a *philosophical* explanation of the diversity of tongues, and, on the other, to furnish an *etymological* explanation of the word Babel. Hence arises the question as to the accuracy of this etymology. If it be erroneous, the historical basis of the whole story is undoubtedly shattered; but if it be correct, the whole story must be regarded as historical, for it is impossible to account for the rise of such a name better than the Scripture does. Some indeed have hastily pronounced the derivation of the word בָּבֶל from בָּלַל erroneous (see *e. gr.* Hartmann, s. 409); but Gesenius justly determines that the form בָּבֶל = בַּלְבֵּל, *confusio* (comp. the altogether analogous Syr. ܒܘܒܠܐ, *confusio sermonis, balbutitio*, and forms like טוֹפָפָה = טָפְטָפָה, &c.), is a perfectly regular derivation from בָּלַל,[1] and does not venture to decide for [though he suggests] another for the word.[2] It is inconceivable that people should from remote antiquity give the name of *Confusion* to a district already known by the name of Shinar, had not some definite historical occurrence given occasion for it.

Returning, then, to the ancient view of this passage, we find the earlier theologians divided between two opinions by it. The one, which is allied to the Jewish opinion (comp. the Targum on Gen. xi. 1), regards as the original language that which continued in the family of Eber;[3] the other relinquishes the attempt to discover the

1 Etymon ... linguae hebraeae et Syriacae rationibus *plane accommodatum* est. Thes. Ling. Hebr. I. 212.

2 Two other etymologies have been offered, but both are so manifestly forced that they need not occasion any hesitation. Eichhorn's derivation بَاب بِل, *porta*, d. h. *aula Beli*, foists in a word borrowed from the later Arabic, and presupposes a totally different form (מַבֶּבֶל), so that I cannot conceive how Hartmann could call it "analogously formed." The suggestion of Gesenius that בָּבֶל = בֵּית בַּל means *domus Beli*, has also the form of the word against it. בֵּית thus abbreviated occurs only in the latest usage of the language (in one word in the Bible and there differently, Gesen. p. 193), and the form בַּל never occurs in ancient usage.

3 Comp. Löscher de causis ling. Heb. p. 13, who says, "equidem qui in linguarum

original language, and derives the Hebrew from the Canaanitish without attempting to investigate its antiquity further. The latter, favoured by Grotius, has been especially developed, not without acuteness, by Le Clerc in his Treatise de Ling. Heb., and him the later advocates of it follow.—We grant at once here that much of what was adduced by the older theologians who contended for the former opinion, and even by the acute and learned Löscher, is founded in mistake (as *e. gr.* the affinity of the Hebrew with other tongues was by far too strongly stated), and that here and there it bears too much of a dogmatical character. Nevertheless, in their opinion there is more sense than in the other, and one cannot but wonder that Gesenius (loc. cit.) could so slightly pass over this point, especially as in Hezel's Gesch. d. Hebr. Sprache, s. 14, ff. at least, some better reasonings in support of it may be found. On a closer investigation, from more points of view than one, the old orthodox opinion so commends itself that we may regard the position that the later language of the descendants of Abraham stood at least in a very intimate relation to the original tongue, as one which, so far as in such a case is possible, is well founded.[1]

1. This opinion has much probability and force in itself. Language is not something that may be detached from the entire life of men; it is rather the faithful impression of the ideas that animate men. For the pure apprehension and preservation, therefore, of the divine revelations, they could not be severed from the organs by which they were presented; here the idea without an expression corresponding to it is something lifeless, and already the great variety of the whole *symbolical* modes of expression of heathen antiquity indicates the striving after adequate modes of designation in which they failed; whereas, on the contrary, in the Hebrew

orientalium studio omnium sunt versatissimi, ad unum omnes Ebraeam matrem et antiquissimam linguarum omnium esse pronuntiant."

1 Among more recent scholars, Pareau excellently determines the point thus (Inst. p. 25): Perantiquus erat sermo Hebraicus, cujus origines ex omnium peritiorum consensu ad aetatem pertinent, gentis Israeliticae originibus multo anteriorem. Immo videtur cum generis humani primordiis exstitisse atque ipse fuisse sermo, qui diluvio aquarum cum Noacho superstes in orbe instaurato unus erat, omnibusque continuo hominibus communis, Gen xi. 1. Postea apud diversas gentes in locis invicem vicinis habitantes receptus aliquid contraxit diversitatis, qualis in unius ejusdemque lingnae dialectis cernitur: *apud Hebraeos tamen, ut veri est simile, proxime ad primaevam suam indolem rationemque accidens*, omnium clarissimo retinuit illius indicio simplicitatis quae puerorum propria est, ipsamque haud obscure arguit, humani generis infantiam.

foretime such a method of teaching is not found.—We see, however, these revelations of God attached to a race by which they were carefully preserved, and the carefulness which we must ascribe to ancient tradition makes it all the more improbable that here the essence would be suffered to be severed from the form, and the latter cease to be the faithful bearer of the former. If even in late times it was held as a principle of antiquity:

πατρίους παραδοχὰς ἃς θ' ὁμήλικας χρόνῳ
κεκτήμεθ', οὐδεὶς αὐτὰ καταβάλλει λόγος—[1]

how much more are we bound to attribute the greatest certainty therein to the primitive race which not only lived amidst a simpler state of nature, but also in possession of the revelations of the true God.[2]

2. Such a settled state of the language is apparent also in the *History*. If the Israelites during four centuries preserved as a people their language in Egypt, we have in this a not unimportant analogy for the earlier relations of an individual and much smaller tribe. And if the account in Gen. xxxi. 46, 47, directly shows what care the patriarchs took for the upholding of their family tongue, especially in districts where another was spoken, we are led to conclude that this was their custom at that time.

Here we must take notice of a recent opinion which certainly directly contradicts ours. It is said that the Hebrew language was already in the time of Abraham confined to Canaan, that it was the vernacular tongue of the Canaanites, and that Abraham derived it from them (Gesenius, s. 16.) Now, on the one hand it is not to be denied that overwhelming reasons necessitate the conclusion that the Canaanites in the earliest period spoke Hebrew; the proper names which indicate a clearly Hebrew etymology (שְׁכֶם, אֲבִימֶלֶךְ, מַלְכִּי־צֶדֶק, &c.), the circumstance that, though there was abundant intercourse between the Hebrews and Canaanites, no mention is made of any difference of language, and the analogy of the Phœnician[3] vouch for this; nor has it ever been denied by the

1 Euripid. Bacch. 182 [201 ed. Dindorf Oxon. 1838.]

2 [I have translated this paragraph as I best could, but I must confess the author's meaning has not reached my mind.—Tr.]

3 Other reasons are adduced by Gesenius (p. 17), but they are less tenable; especially such a passage as Is. xix. 18 cannot be urged with this view; see preceding §.

older theologians (see *e. gr.* Fuller, Miscell. Sacr. iv. 4.) But on the other hand, the supposition that Abraham borrowed his language from the vernacular language of the inhabitants of Canaan is utterly arbitrary. For (1) in that case we should have had in the Hebrew a mixed language; not one so pure, and which, even in the earliest times, existed as an independant dialect[1] (comp. Gen. xlix.) 2. We should in that case have found traces of a polytheistic and heathen origin, which might be derived either from the Canaanites or the Arameans (comp. Genes. xxxi; Jos. xxiv. 2.) But of this not one certain indication can we find though the whole history is versant in matters connected with religion and worship.[2]—This brings us to the only correct supposition, that though the Canaanites used the language of Abraham, the latter brought with him his own speech and abode faithful to it. We fully recognise here the force of Löscher's Dilemma: si ea, quam nunc Ebraeam nominamus, lingua non esset primaeva, aut ab idololatris aut a verae religionis cultoribus orta esset; non ab his, qui sane linguam, quae primam revelationem attulit custoditque, studiose retinuissent, non ab illis, sic enim plena esset idololatriae vestigiis, ac superstitionem ubivis redoleret (de causis l. H. p. 23).

3. There are passages in the most ancient documents which, unless violence be done to them, cannot be explained in any other way than by assuming an identity with the Hebrew idiom. Thus the song of Lamech, Gen. iv. 23, 24, which, however puzzling as to its purport and expression, nevertheless is indubitably a relic of primeval poetry. As, on the one hand, it would be very difficult to believe that Moses took it upon him to make alterations on such traditions, in which case they would have borne another and more

[1] Consider *e. gr.* the Roman language, composed of many various elements; see Bähr, Gesch. d. Röm. Lit. § 1.

[2] Gesenius himself admits this, and thereby involves himself in a contradiction. The only example that can be adduced for the opposite is the word אֱלֹהִים. Even if we adopt the *grammatical* explanation of this plural given by Ewald (Compositi. d. Genesis s. 32, Krit. Gr. s. 641) as perfectly just [Ewald thinks that the plural *Elohim* was used originally to express the idea of the Godhead generally, just as the Latins used the words *Dii* and *Penates* without meaning thereby to designate any god in particular, which, with all deference to so learned a scholar, is a piece of nonsense.—Tr.]; yet the *historical*, which is similar to the old one proposed by Le Clerc, altogether breaks down, and has no connexion with the other. To ascribe polytheistic notions to Abraham, and to impute the embracing of them to genuine Hebrew antiquity, is truly a vain conceit which should long ago have been relinquished. Comp. Baumgarten-Crusius, Bibl. Theol. s. 162.

intelligible character (comp. Lowth, De poesi Sac. Heb. p. 78, ed. Michaelis), so, on the other, it is as little credible that in the times preceding his, when the people were restricted to tradition, any such attempt would be made. It may be added that the poetical passage Gen. ix. 25—27 favours the same conclusion, for there the Paronomasia לְיֶפֶת . . . . יַפְתְּ, ver. 27, in which so weighty an element of the thought lies, bespeaks it a primeval witness, preserved by tradition. All this carries us back to the existence of primitive traditions, going greatly beyond those of Abraham, of which no other language but the Hebrew can be regarded as the original.

4. Of especial weight for our object is the great multitude of proper names (names of persons and places), which occur in the oldest portions of Genesis, and the Hebrew derivation of which either appears at once or is evidenced by Paronomasial collocations or by the etymologies actually given, comp. Gen. ii. 23, אִישׁ—אִשָּׁה; iii. 10, חַוָּה; iv. 1, קַיִן from קָנָה; iv. 6, נוּד from נוּד, vers. 12, 14; iv. 25, שֵׁת from שִׁית; iv. 26, אֱנוֹשׁ; v. 29, נֹחַ, &c. Comp. Löscher, l. c. p. 9 and 50, sq. Some[1] have variously urged in opposition that these names need not be original, as they may have been translated into the Hebrew. But that the author at least regarded them as original Hebrew words, and did not permit to himself any such meddling with them, appears from the following considerations: (*a*) The etymologies adduced by the writer are opposed to such an opinion, inasmuch as the later given interpretations of the proper names are intelligible only on the supposition that these words themselves are Hebrew. These names with their meaning form an essential element in the *History*, and hence the credibility of the latter stands intimately connected with that of the name and its signification.[2] (*b*) Were such a trans-

1 Comp. Grotius ad Genes. xi. 1. Le Clerc, de ling. Heb. § 11, Gesenius Lib. cit. s. 13: who says, "not considering that these names may have been originally coined or altered by the Hebrews."

2 In no point have recent enquirers gone further astray in their judgments than in regard to the historical basis of these etymologies. The ancient significancy of names, so much the more important in an age when the want of history made it necessary to link events with such names, is fully recognised, and yet there are people who see in these etymologies nothing but the play of an unheard of caprice, the meaningless conjectures of later times, pure inventions of the writer, &c. (Comp. *e. gr.* Hartmann, Forschungen, üb. d. Pent. s. 263, ff., and the writings there cited.) An appeal has been made to the customs of other nations of antiquity in support of this notion, but these

formation conceded, we should expect to find it most manifest in the case of those words the etymology of which, from the Hebrew, is most difficult, as is the case with many words in the genealogical rolls, Gen. x. The faithful retention of these directly proves that no alteration was made in the names, since otherwise there would have been occasion here to pursue the design of making their meaning more clear. (*c*) Where names had been altered we find the practice of noting this observed carefully in Genesis (comp. xiv. 7, 8; xxiii. 19; xxviii. 19), and from this we may infer that the other proper names are conscientiously retained in the Hebrew idiom, otherwise analogy would have led to the name which had been transmuted into Hebrew, being given in its original form. (*d*) The custom of all other historians favours this view (as Vitringa justly says, Obss. Sacr. I. 45: Observatum est, historiographis veteribus minime fuisse in more positum, in historia mutare nomina propria.) Vitringa with justice appeals to the practice of Herodotus in regard to foreign names and their interpretation: *σχεδὸν δὲ καὶ πάντα τὰ οὐνόματα τῶν θεῶν ἐξ Αἰγύπτου ἐλήλυθεν εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα*, II. 50, and according to this principle he *translates* the Egyptian names into the corresponding Greek; comp. Plato, Critias, p. 113, Creuzer Symbolik II., 289, ff. It has, however, been objected that, nevertheless, many cases occur of proper names which have been translated into another idiom, where they retain a correct etymology according to their meaning, (as, *e.gr.*, the name *Πηλούσιον* derived by the Greeks from *πῆλος*, *filth*, and this in correspondence with the Egyptian name *Sin*, Strabo XVII. p. 552, Casaub.) comp. Le Clerc l. cit. § 2. But Walton has already justly replied to this (Proleg. p. 75 [in the Polyglott T. I. p. 16]): Etsi historici vel interpretes, qui aliarum nationum res gestas scribunt vel in suam linguam vertunt, ali-

prove exactly the opposite, viz., the universally acknowledged significancy of names which, in narratives so ancient and so near to their sources as those of Scripture, vindicate for themselves the authority of *pure history*. As respects the objection taken from the alleged erroneousness grammatically of the etymologies, there is much to be said in reply to it. It has not been considered *here* that the proper names retain unusual forms which are not elsewhere to be found in Hebrew (Gesenius, Gesch. d. Heb. Spr. s. 48, ff.) Much that is grammatically anomalous occurs here, as, *e.gr.*, the etymology of גֵּרְשֹׁם Exod. ii. 22, where for the last syllable שֹׁם = שָׁם, we must go to the Arab. ثم (which offers itself historically as a fit comparison.) In fine, much that has been treated as etymology is only Paranomasia. Comp. Simonis Onomasticon, p. 6, v. p. 13, ff.

quando officia et dignitates, et interdum ex causa speciali propria nomina, in quibus emphasis vel energia quaedam latet, sua lingua explicant; hoc tamen constanter per totam historiae seriem ab aliquo fieri, praesertim quum nullibi tale quid historicus vel interpres lectori insinuet, absolute nego, nec ullus talis historicus nominari potest.[1]

§ 27. GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE HEBREW AS A WRITTEN LANGUAGE.

1. Though for the reasons above assigned we must vindicate for the Hebrew the highest antiquity, its proper interest to the biblical student nevertheless begins where it enters into existence as a written language. Here even it presents the imposing spectacle of a language issuing from the deepest shadows of antiquity, and which, from its sublime simplicity, must be called the basis and the key of all the other Oriental languages.—The question, formerly much discussed, but too often answered unsatisfactorily and one-sidedly, as to the wealth or riches, the culture or rudeness, of the Hebrew language,[2] as it is immediately a relative one, can be properly appreciated only by our viewing the language, in the first instance, in its relations to other dialects, and then in itself, both in a grammatical and a lexicographical point of view.—So also the judgment upon the stability of the language has been on several sides exaggerated as *e. gr.* by Jahn, Einl. I. 226: "The Hebrew in Nehemiah, Malachi, Ezra, Haggai, and Zechariah, is essentially the same as that which Moses wrote 1000 or 1100 years before;" see the same decision, though reached from a very different point of view, in Gesenius, s. 19. The hue of the language is certainly not essentially different; and this could not well be otherwise, partly on account of the fixed character of the Semitic languages generally, partly on account of the influence of the Pentateuch on

1 This argument has been already well urged in the Book Cosri, P. II., p. 132, ed. Buxtorff.

2 There were some called "Hostes Hebraismi," thus described by Löscher: Omnes qui vel professi sunt ejus odium atque contemtum vel eundem tanquam rem rauci, in certum inutilem traducendo, exulceratum animum ostenderunt; de caus. l. H. p. 173, sq. In this spirit Le Clerc (de l. H. § 6) speaks of the "inopia," the want of perspicuity and elegance of the language—all very uncritical and causeless. From a quite different point of view Schultens treated of the inopia of the language (de defectibus, l. Heb. p. 8, sq.), viz., in reference to the extent of its monuments and the dialects.

the subsequent literature, partly on account of the stationariness of the people, on whom there was no outward influence operating to induce them to make any change of their ancient idiom. But, on the other hand, there was no less undeniably a development of the language, to verify which indeed a very strict grammatico-historical investigation is required, but by this the peculiarity of the Pentateuch and its difference from the other books, may be clearly discerned. Comp. Ewald, Gr. d. Heb. Spr. in vollständ. Kürze, s. 3. [Translated by Nicholson, p. 4.]

2. The Hebrew is a language which, with the richest materials for full cultivation, remained nevertheless in a partially undeveloped state—a remark which is applicable as much to the grammatical structure and diction as to the style as a whole. The Arabic shows, as an allied dialect, very plainly how from such germs as are found in the Hebrew, the most diversified perfection may be reached by more extensive cultivation. But it is altogether characteristic of the Hebrew, that it did not reach that perfection which in various derivations seems within sight. For (*a*) the tendency of its literature was exclusively religious, it was appropriated to the service of a lofty theocratic object; and hence it was necessarily confined within a definite circle of ideas and modes of expression. (*b*) That which is a general characteristic of the Oriental spirit, where it has not degenerated under an influence foreign to its essence, viz., the subordination of the form to the essence, shows itself in an especial degree in the Hebrew language and literature. The fulness of the thought here entirely lords it over the form, and the latter, though in different ways, according to the particular objects, passes more or less into the background, so that, on the whole, its cultivation appears something unessential and less to be regarded.

3. As respects *Grammar*, when we consider the dialects, we must assign to the Hebrew, as compared with the Aramaic, a character of greater purity, as the latter presents the genius of the original Semitic language in a more degenerate and corrupt state —as compared with the Arabic, we must assign to it a want of cultivation, as the latter is the richer in vowels, the more mellifluous, and the more developed dialect. In respect of both we must vindicate for the Hebrew the praise of a language which has abode faithfully by its original and proper essence. A somewhat

comprehensive example may make this relation more closely apparent. From the *biliterae*,[1] which exist in few and almost entirely obsolete forms, the *triliterae* develope themselves with the greatest regularity. This, the internal harmony of the language, is accomplished by the exchange of the bilitera for a *strong* letter, generally affecting the *sense*, completing the *notion* of the word, and adapted to it (as the dentals ד, צ, ט, שׂ, or their softer associates, the D and T sounds); or for a *weak* letter, serving to promote the *euphonic* symmetrical formation of the root, (as the sounds ו and י, the gutteral letters.) Especially with the latter does the original character of the Hebrew language appear, inasmuch as these weak letters are in Hebrew kept distinct, whereas in Aramaic the corruption of the language bespeaks itself in their being confounded.[2] So in the Syr. the throughout complete intermingling of the forms פֵּן, פָּא, and פִּי, so that not only are the former derived from the latter (the immediate tendency to which in the Hebrew is apparent, Ewald, Krit. Gr. s. 459), but also the latter from the former, which is much less natural (Hoffmann, Gram. Syr. p 211); on the contrary the Hebrew distinguishes even the *meaning* of the stems פִּי and פֵּן, as יַצַר and נָצַר, comp. Vater, Hebr. Gr. s. 343. So the stems פִּי and פֵּר are in Syriac much more confounded than in Hebrew (Ewald, s. 394); the verbs לָהּ and לָא have passed into the one form, לָא, &c. The development of the verbal stem is expressed with peculiar delicacy in the modification of the notion through the so-called conjugation-system, and here we find in Hebrew the original rational relation of these forms delineated in outline with great clearness. The *internal* modification of the conception (as it is transitive or intransitive, active or passive), is marked by an *internal vowel*-change; the *outward* modification by a change of consonants, *either* as a new conception superadded, the reflexive, Niphal (Hithpäel) and causal, Hiphil, *or* as an enhancing of the stem-conception through an augmentation of the radicals belonging

[1] Comp. Gesenius, Lehrgeb. s. 183, ff., 452, ff. Hupfeld, de emendanda lexicographiae semiticae ratione (Marb. 1827, 4to), p. 12, sq. Stier, Neugeordn. Lehrgeb. I. s. 141, 182, ff.

[2] Hence the observation (crudely, indeed, and empirically expressed) that the Aramaic numbers fewer verba irregularia than the Hebrew (Gesenius, Lehrg s. 153), which, however, must be regarded as anything but a mark of original *simplicity*.

thereto, Piel. All these outlines are in the Aramaic branch of the language almost entirely obliterated. In direct opposition to the nature of the idiom the formation of the *Passive* is accomplished by new forms added externally (the syllable —אֲ), so that in them there is no distinction in point of form between the reflex and the passive signification, similar to the relation of the Greek middle and passive voices (Agrell. Lumina Syr. § 6.) To the very same result we are led by the comparison of the Hebrew and Aramaic augmentative forms. These, proceeding on the principle of the speech-stem's developing itself by itself, appear quite regular in the Piel-form, and here are unfolded progressively further, according as the sense requires more or less of augmentation (the so-called *plurilitera*),[1] whence in Hebrew the augmentative formations beyond the Piel are very rare, and are used only as particular occasions demand (Ewald, s. 241, ff.) On the contrary, in the Aramaic are found such new augmentative forms in a much greater number than in the Hebrew, and without this exacter conception (Agrell. Otiola Syr. p. 34, sq.) Even the basis of this form is also corrupted, inasmuch as in place of the *reduplication* of a stem-consonant (Piel) there is a lengthened pronunciation (Pael.) In this way the further it advanced the more the Aramaic departed from the original, since it counterbalanced the elongation by new letters appended to the stem, which continually diverge more and more from the simple vowel-lengthening with which it began, whence arise the forms with ן and ר (ܩܛܠ, ܩܛܣ, ܩܛܫ), those with liquids (with n: Kantala occurs only in Arab. and Ethiopic, Hupfeld, Exercitt Ethiop. p. 26), those with ל (ܩܛܠ ܩܛܐ), and those with מ (ܫܡܣ), &c. Hoffmann, Gr. Syr. p. 186. The tendency to this is found in Hebrew only in nouns (which tend more to composition than verbs), and here only for the most part in the later usage of the language.

4. As respects the *Diction*, we must especially note the etymological character of the Hebrew idiom. Etymology has primarily a *phonetic* basis; the conception adhering to the sounds and un-

1 The part of Ewald's Grammar which treats of this is not quite free from error, inasmuch as the formation of the plurilitera as represented by him is too much severed from these augmentative forms, s. 520, ff. Some very admirable remarks which make this connection clear are found in Hupfeld Exercitt. Aethiop., p. 24, sq.

folding itself in them in manifold ways. This is especially seen in the Hebrew on account of the regular triliteral formation which is found here; the fundamental conception of the word adheres to the two fundamental sounds of the stem, which contain and express the conception onomatopoietically. A multitude of such syllables may be referred to which, though very variously formed, may be reduced to a common onomatopoietic ground-conception, and hence are of great importance for the combination of apparently different words. Thus the syllables דח, גב, פע, פר, &c.[1] Some have gone so far as to determine these sounds themselves according to the meaning of the individual sound, the letter (comp. Böttcher, Proben Alt. Test. licher Schrifterklärung, Vorr. s. XIII., ff.); but in this case use has been made of a refined and perilous subtlety, which even in point of principle does not appear to be correct. For the word-and stem-conception can be minted only by the combining of sounds, which in its greatest simplicity consists of the coming together of two sounds. It is otherwise with the expressions for the relation of several conceptions to each other, as in the case of the ground-particles (the copula ו and what were originally prepositions בְּ, כְּ and לְ) where the simple combining sound suffices.[2] The original character of the language is especially indicated in the still very evident connections in which that outwardly phonetic word-formation stands with the concrete (or sensible) ground-meaning of the word.[3] In the Hebrew the original has here been least corrupted by variety of formations, or by transition to a more abstract character of language. Especially since Schultens' time attention has been directed to this feature of the Hebrew language, in which the immediate perception is throughout predominant, and hence the attempt has proceeded to reduce the whole treasures of the language to a very few simple radical conceptions. Comp. Hupfeld De emend. Lex. Sem. rat. p. 7: Incredibilis exploranti cuique se offert radicum penuria, ex qua haec significationum silva excrevit, nec quicquam vel admirabilius

1 Comp. Gesenius, Lehrg. s. 183, ff. Vorrede z W.B. 3te Aufl. s. L.

2 It is certainly an error in the later Grammarians (as Gesenius, Winer, Ewald) to treat these prepositions as abbreviations of stem-forms; this is applicable only in the case of the derived later particles (whose use therefore is also much more comprehensive) but not in the case of the simplest elements of the language.

3 See on this what Grimm says, Deutsche Gram. II. 84, ff.

est vel fructuosius atque jucundius cognitu quam introspicere linguarum officinam et hanc intueri oeconomiae *simplicitatem et constantiam*, qua usa est ad efformandam ex tam tenui penu innumerabilem notionum varietatem.

II. The frequently mooted question as to the *richness* of the language cannot be determined by an *a priori* and altogether outward reduction of a combination of letters to *triliterae*, and it is impossible from this to decide upon the loss which we have sustained in reference to the Hebrew from the small number of sources.[1] Much that formerly belonged thereto, is indeed still retained in the proper names, the etymology of which, it is true, is often puzzling, but with the help of the Dialects,[2] may in part be successfully illustrated. Much also remains in the ancient Talmudic writings (the Mishnah), all the linguistic treasures of which certainly cannot be ascribed to borrowing from other dialects (the Aramaic for instance) or to the new formations, but must in part be viewed as remains of old Hebrew words preserved by tradition. Such word-stems are, *e. gr.*, בגר used of manliness (on this the dialects throw no light); בלס, to mix, hence to defile; דהה, to be dim, dark; חכך, to laugh; חבר, to hire, &c. Comp. Hartmann-Thes. Ling. Heb. e. Mishnah augend., p. II., p. 49, sq. (voces quae in V. T. desiderantur.)

The copiousness of the Hebrew, and along with that a nicety which has not been sufficiently considered, is especially seen in the use of the so-called *synonymes*, a point to which the earlier writers have also called attention. Thus Carpzov remarks (Crit. Sac. V. T., p. 201), that the language possesses *eighteen* words for the conception *to break*, and adds, "pariter observarunt viri docti, *tenebras* octo diversis nominibus, *quaerendi* actum decem verbis

1 As Schultens does; see on this Gesenius Gesch., s. 47.

2 Thus the names בְּרִית, בְּרִיעָה indicate a root once existing in Heb. בָּרַע, Arab. بَرَعَ = بَلَغَ, then tropically to distinguish one's self, to conquer; hence بَارِعٌ and بَرِيعٌ *excellentia, praestantia* (less naturally Gesenius, *donum, munus* from the 5th conj. of the stem-word, Thes., p. 244.)—גָּחַם in place of the form גָּחַם which occurs also in Arabic in place of the usual גָּשַׁר—גָּחַל from גָּשַׁר the جَسَرَ to be bold, venturesome, جَسُورٌ audax, magnanimus, &c. Comp. Gesenius Gesch., s. 49.

exprimi, porro *moriendi* actum novem, *confidentiam in Deum* quatuordecim, *remissionem peccatorum* novem, *observantiam legis* viginti quinque phrasibus Hebraeis in Scriptura exponi. Unde conjecturam capere licet, quam late quondam patuerit, quantisque abundarit divitiis, cum in flore illa hominumque adhuc esset ore. Comp. also Hartmann Ling. Einl. § 235. Now this is not to be explained by the Parallelism of the members in Poetry which often rendered necessary various expressions of the same thought (Gesenius Gesch, s. 48); but its proper reason is found in that depth of the language, in virtue of which, it is capable of expressing a conception according to its most varied modifications. In the Lexicons, however, by far too large a number of synonymous conceptions is established, since the Hebrew in this department discriminates with much nicety, and here above all renders *criticism* needful. So in respect of the words which denote *darkness* it may be remarked that חֹשֶׁךְ is the general expression, opposed to אוֹר, Is. lviii. 10, *absence of light;* (so according to the etymology—here Schultens errs, Job., p. 45, sq.—חָשַׁךְ = חָשַׂךְ *coercere lucem*, Ez. xxx. 18); אֹמֶל (and אֲמֵלָה) is the more special and hence the stronger word, *Night-darkness* (according to the Etymology, properly of the setting sun, אָמַל being allied to נָמַל) opposed to צָהֳרַיִם Is. lviii. 10, and hence also in elevated discourse it is used *with* חֹשֶׁךְ, Exod. x. 22; Joel ii. 2; Zeph. i. 15; עֲלָטָה properly the *thick darkness* (עָלַט densus fuit.) Mere poetical descriptions of darkness are the words קַדְרוּת and צַלְמָוֶת. Gesenius gives *darkness* as the meaning also of נֶשֶׁף, but in this he errs, for it means the *gloaming*, the *evening twilight;* nor have עֵיפָה and מוּעָף that meaning, and as little does the root עוּף signify *to be dark*, and the Syr. ܥܦ *to veil*, as Gesenius supposes, probably from a misunderstanding of Heb. i. 12 in the Peschito. Comp. Michaelis, Supplement. 5, p. 1866, sq.[1]

1 Here we may take occasion to adduce several Synonymes which have either been overlooked or wrongly construed. אָבִיב and שִׁבֹּלֶת for both of which the Lexicons give only *spica*, whereas the former denotes the ear when upon the stalk, the latter the ripened ear fit to be reaped or already reaped; אדמה is the arable land, שָׂדֶה the free open field (see Credner on Joel, p. 121, ff.); בּוֹשׁ denotes the *internal sense of shame*, חֶפֶר the in-

A class of words altogether peculiar to Hebrew consists of those which relate to the theocratic relations of the nation, which belong to the strictly *religious* department, and mark theocratic peculiarities just as in the New Testament diction we must recognize Christian peculiarities.[1] Such expressions are, for instance, אֱמֶת, תּוֹרָה, the revealed truth (see my Comment. on Daniel, s. 280), the divine name, יְהוָה, and the combinations with it, such as בָּקַשׁ דָּרַשׁ יי, עָם יי; further, the different expressions for *sin*, and *to commit sin*, *to be sin-burdened* (חָטָא, עָוָה, רָשַׁע, מָרַד, see my Comm. on Dan. s. 332), or for *prayer* (תְּפִלָּה, prayer in general, תַּחֲנוּנִים, a prayer for grace, as well for the obtaining of something desired as for the averting of something feared, *deprecatio*), the psychological terms רוּחַ, נֶפֶשׁ, נְשָׁמָה (see Olshausen de Trichotomia nadex of this on the countenance, *blushing* (Ps. xxxiv. 6, hence the collocation with לָבָנָה, the *white* moon shall *blush*, Is. xxiv. 23, with לָבָן the *white* mountain shall *blush*, Is. xxxiii. 9), נִכְלַם to cover oneself with disgrace, to be disgraced, outwardly to endure all the consequences of disgrace; צֶדֶק and מִשְׁפָּט denote, the former personal, the latter judicial rectitude (comp. Hengstenberg, Christol. III., s. 554, less correctly the earlier writers, as for instance, Schultens, Job., p. 215); זַעַם anger boiling up but speedily appeased, אַף anger that lasts and consumes (see my Comment. on Daniel, s. 300); נוּם to begin to sleep, to fall asleep (so also in the Syr. ܢܡ, comp. Assemani Bibl. Or I., p. 36, allied to נוּעַ to *nod*, to fall into a wavering movement of the body, incorrectly the Lexicons to slumber, to sleep lightly), יָשֵׁן proper word for *to sleep*. The words מִנְחָה and מַתָּנָה מַתָּן are originally to be distinguished, so that the former denotes the gifts which an inferior brings to his superior (hence especially of offerings, Credner on Joel, s. 118), the latter those which a superior may give to his inferior, or equals to each other (Faber, Beobacht. üb. d. Orient, II. 11, ff.); but this distinction is not always strictly observed; עָמַל action in its beginning to undertake, עָשָׂה action verging to its performance, see the instructive passage Is. xli. 4 (in Lat *agere*, *facere*, *gerere*, Herzog ad Caes. de B. Gall. iii. 27. Frotscher ad Quinctil. lib. X., p. 8); שַׂר and נָגִיד have already been rightly discriminated by Schultens, "illius qualecunque imperium, hujus in totum populum potestas est" (Job. p. 807), &c. Worthy of notice also is the change of meaning that is often produced by a very slight change of sound, as *e. gr.*, חָצַב to hew stones, חָטַב to hew wood (see Gesenius WB. s. voc.), נָתַשׁ to decay (of trees), נָתַץ to decay (of buildings); נָתַן to give, תָּנָה to give the hire of fornication (Hengstenb. l. c. s. 89), &c.

[1] Comp. Winer, Gr. d. N. T. s. 35, 3te Ausg., where amongst other things the author says, "to seek to explain such expressions of the Christian-apostolic terminology from the Greek authors (comp. Krebs, Observ. praef. p. 4) is in the highest degree out of place." Equally so is it to seek to explain peculiar Hebrew conceptions from heathen sources, as *e. gr.* נָבִיא compared with the Greek *προφήτης* (see in opposition to this Baumgarten-Crusius, Bibl. Theol. s. 40), or the אֱלֹהֵי שָׁמַיִם with the *οὐρανοῦ κράτος* of the Greeks (ibid. s. 166), &c.

turae humanae, in his Opuscula), &c. The great copiousness and variety of the language in this respect shows how much it was penetrated by the profoundest religious life (which is what the old theologians commonly understood by the *sanctitas ling. Heb.*)— Worthy of notice in this respect is the relation of the Hebrew to its heathen neighbours, in as far as the borrowing of religion from the idolators led to a practical adoption of their modes of speech. Hence it is interesting to observe how, by the Hebrew theocratic writers, all the expressions used by the Armaeans in reference to objects of divine worship are used of the *idolatrous* worship, as, *e. gr.* נָבָא, to prophesy, קָסַם, to soothsay (of false prophets), comp. Rosenmuller on Deut. xviii. 10, Hitzig on Is. s. 33; similarly אוֹב, which in Aramaic certainly signifies *expiatio*, at least such was the meaning of תְּאוֹבָה among the Phœnicians (Hamacker, Miscell. Phœnic. p. 29), among the Hebrews it is used in the sense of *necromancy*, see Gesenius, Thes. s. v.; כָּמַר, *to pray, to sacrifice*, כָּשַׁף, to *practise sorcery* (common meaning, to *unveil*, to reveal mysteries, Hartmann, Linguist. Einl. s. 292; the ancient priestly prophetic mode of teaching, Creuzer, Symbolik. I. 11, ff.); סגד (and likewise the Arab. سجد), to *adore*, to prostrate oneself, סָגַד, used only of idol-worship (of theocratic הִשְׁתַּחֲוָה); בַּעַל, the Aramaic name of *God*, used by the Hebrews only of the relations of civil life, never of the true God, of the latter only אָדוֹן, which with the Aramaeans was more a conventional term;[1] כְּמָרָא, a. *priest*, כְּמָרִים, of the idol-priests; קָדֵשׁ, קָדֵשָׁה, a saint, one consecrated to God with the Armaeans,[2] but with the Hebrews a gallant, whoremonger. From these specimens we may conclude that a mode of speech was embraced by the idolatrous Hebrews such as suited their inclinations, but which persons devoted to the true God sought to abolish, and to place in its true

[1] See Bellermann on the passage of the Poenulus II. 15, whence Münter (Relig. der Karthager, s. 5) erroneously concluded that אֲדֹנִין is a name of God. How much the later Syrians regarded the word as the proper Jewish name for God, is evident from Assemanni, Bibl. Orient I. 371.

[2] The designations of the Hierodouloi among the Hellenes are constantly: ἱεραὶ γυναῖκες, ἀνδρὲς ἱεροὶ, παρθένοι ἱεραὶ. Comp. *e. gr.* Herod. II. 56, VI. 97; Pausan. II. 7, 6, VIII. 36, 2. Hierodoulos was not by any means a word in living use among the people, see Kreuser der Hellenen Priesterstaat, s. 81, u. 199.

light before the people (see my remarks in Tholuck's Anzeiger, 1831, No. 17, s. 141.)

§ 28. CONTINUATION. ADOPTION OF FOREIGN WORDS INTO THE HEBREW.

Here we have first to remark that we must carefully distinguish between what is the common property of the languages, the remains of an earlier unity among tongues now distinct (such as agreement, in the matter of the Pronouns, words like שֵׁן, with the Indo-Germanic tongue-stems), and what actually through historical relations occasioned to one people supremacy over the other,[1] so that we may not arbitrarily conclude from the former upon a later historical connection.[2] It is with the latter source of wealth to the language that we have here to do; the former belongs to the grammarian.

1. The earliest country with which the Hebrews came into historical intercourse, and which consequently could exercise and must have exercised influence on their language, is Egypt. The Pentateuch especially is rich in expressions which are due to the residence of the Hebrews in that land, as אָחוּ, reed of the Nile; יְאוֹר, Nile-stream; בְּהֵמוֹת, Nile-horse; שֵׁשׁ, Byssus; צֶמֶד פַּרְעֹה, פְּנֶחָ, and the Egyptian proper names. Since also in later times, from the time of Solomon, traffic of various kinds was carried on with Egypt (Winer, Reallex, I. 39, ff.), many words were imported into the Hebrew then from this source, as מֹף (Hos. ix. 6), or נֹף (Is. xix. 13), *Memphis*; חַנֵּס (Is. xxx. 4); but these are only proper names, as was natural, seeing the later Hebrews did not come into such intimate relations with Egypt as the earlier.[4] Here the following things are to be observed. A. The

[1] [I suppose the author means to say, "what actually came into the language of the one people through influence obtained over them by the other," but his words are to me obscure.—Tr.]

[2] As Ernesti does, in reference the Greek (Opusc. Philol. et Crit. p. 178), or the Carmelite Maria Ogerius in reference to the Latin, De Gr. et Lat. linguae cum hebraica affinitate libellus. Venet. 1764, see Bähr. Gesch. der Rom. Liter. § 1.

[3] Doubtful are such words as חִבָּה (comp. on this Creuzer, Comment. Herod. p. 94), עֵרֶת (which also admits of a Heb. etymology), comp. Hitzig on Is. s. 62.

[4] Hence appears the error of recent critics (as *e. gr.* Hartmann üb. d. Pentateuch's.

Egyptian words suffer an accommodation to the Hebrew idiom, which certainly does not stand in any relation of affinity with the Egyptian, in order to be brought near to it and to become more significant in it; comp. חָם, the native name of Egypt, but to which the Hebrews attached the meaning of Land of the South (see Gesenius s. v.), כְּנָם, Exod. x. 16 (LXX. *σκνίφες*, Ps. cv. 31), still more hebraised, כִּנִּים, comp. Ewald, Krit. Gr. s. 251, who, however, would needlessly read כְּנָם, since the Pentateuch has elsewhere the termination ם—. B. For the Egyptian words of the Pentateuch others are substituted in later books; thus instead of שֵׁשׁ, Egypt. *Shensh* (constantly in the Pentateuch), in the later books we have equally constantly בּוּץ, Gesen. Thes. p. 190. C. Sometimes a foreign Aramaic word appears in the place of the Egyptian one, in order that, from being more familiar as a relative, it might be more intelligible, and yet at the same time indicate the foreign character of the customs and the expression; thus שַׁלִּיט for שַׂר, Gen. xlii. 6; אַבְרֵךְ, Gen. xli. 43, where the Aramaic form is unmistakeable. (See Schumann on this passage.) Nevertheless we have a Hebrew word חֲצִיר for the Lotus (Num. xi. 5; see Koester, Erläuterungen, s. 148, ff.), חַרְטֹם, Gen. xli. 24; Ex. vii. 11.

2. Of later origin are the Persian words which occur in the Old Testament. None such are found in the Pentateuch. For what Hamacker has recently sought to drag in as such (Miscell. Phoenic. p. 199), viz., the proper name פַּרְנַךְ Num. xxxiv. 25 (Pharnaces), is capable of being derived much better from the root פָּנַךְ, פנכ, contendere, currere. As little is the difficult word דָּת Deut. xxxiii. 2, Persian, and there belongs to it a very different condition from what is commonly assumed.[1] For that the word is old Hebrew is proved, 1, from the proper name דָּתָן, which is undoubtedly connected with it, and which occurs in the Pentateuch, comp. Simonis Onomasticon, p. 325; 2. from the fact that the Persian word it-

654), in placing the use of Egyptian words in the Pentateuch on the same footing with those in other books, by which means the *peculiarity* of the Pentateuch is misapprehended; see also what follows.

[1] The word must belong to the Persian age, and thus "becomes the most decisive proof of the very late origin of this chapter" Hartmann, l. c. s. 666.

self is בּוֹד (Pehlvi, *Dadha*), and consequently has no strict accordance with the form דָּת, where the ת rather indicates a Hebrew ending. But if the commonly attempted etymology of the word be relinquished as untenable (see Böttcher, Proben Alttestam. Schrifterkl. s. 3), there is another exactly conformable to the Hebrew, which, however, seems to have hitherto been overlooked; from the stem דּוּן, דָּנֶת—דִּין (like מָוֶת), contr. דָּת (like בֵּנֶת into בָּת), in the altogether suitable meaning of *Justice, Law.* Certainly the resumption of the form in later books is only explainable from the influence of Parsism; but even in this case this new usage of the language very fitly, at the same time, coheres with an older, and one derived from other sources. Still less weight can be laid on other words, such as אַרְגָּמָן, Exod. xxv. 4, as evidence of a later usage, for this word undoubtedly proceeds from the Phœnician, as also the invariable use of תְּכֵלֶת along with it in the Pentateuch proves (the latter with an Aramaïsed form in place of שְׁחֵלֶת.) Only in the later books the form invariably occurring, אַרְגְּוָן, concurs exactly with the Persic, and owes to Persian influence its origin, and in this way may be easily explained the otherwise very anomalous exchange of מ for ו. Even in the time of Solomon no certain traces of the influence of the Persic are to be found; the only word פַּרְדֵּס, Cant. iv. 13, is hardly old Persic (see Ewald on Cant. s. 21), and admits even of a Semitic etymology (from פָּרַס, to extend), Ewald, l. c. s. 119; comp. also the forms פרשט, פרשד, פַּרְשְׁדֹן, Judg. iii. 22. Ewald, Krit. Gr. s. 519. It is only in the later books, when the Babylonians and the Chaldee spoken by them, and which was allied to the Persic, exercised an influence on the Jews, and in the books written during the Persian dominion itself (Ezekiel, Daniel, Ezra, Nehemiah, Esther, Chronicles,) that Parsisms are found in any remarkable manner. These occur in several expressions (see under); the earliest trace of them is found in the word טַמְסַר, Nah. iii. 17; so that in this respect the later Hebrew resembled the Greek, of which Athenaeus says (Deipnos III. 34): *παρὰ τοῖς ἀρχαίοις ποιηταῖς καὶ συγγραφεῦσι τοῖς σφόδρα ἑλληνιζουσίν ἐστιν εὑρεῖν καὶ Περσικὰ ὀνόματα κείμενα διὰ τὴν τῆς χρήσεως*

συνηθείαν. Something here appears adapted to the Hebrew or Aramaic idiom, as גָּנַז and its cognates, which is neither exclusively Persic (see Lorsbach, Arch. II. s. 273), nor purely Semitic (see Gesenius, thes. p. 296), but originally proceeded from the properly Persic terminus (pecuniam regiam, *gazam* Persae vocant. Curt. III. 13, 5), and was then combined with the Aramaic stem גְּנַז = כָּנַס, to which the forms גזבר and גדברין Esra i. 8, Dan. iii. 2, 3, especially lead.

3. The question as to the presence of Greek words in the Hebrew has been variously answered. The connection of the inhabitants of Hither Asia with ancient Greece, even in the earliest times, is evident, and it sufficiently accounts for the number of Semitic words in Greek (see under.) But there arises here the much more difficult question, whether there was any reaction of the Greek language on the Hebrew; and in this respect there have been some who would reduce the words פִּלֶגֶשׁ and לַפִּיד which occur in the Pentâteuch to this source (*πάλλαξ*, *παλλακίς*, *λαμπάς*), as they do not appear to admit of any Semitic origin (J. D. Michaelis, Einl. in d. A. T. I. s. 166.) But this latter assertion, which is of essential importance here, is undoubtedly a mistake. For פִּלֶגֶשׁ, a concubine, comes clearly from פָּגַשׁ, *irruere, invadere*, certainly also *to lie with*, like the closely-allied Arabic زَبَجَ, which, according to Freytag signifies, 1, de improviso irruit in al.; 2, coivit, with which also accords the strengthened form زَحَشَ, valde turpis fuit, obscoeno sermone usus est (Freytag, p. 319.) (On the insertion of the ל see Gesenius Lehrg. s. 863.) In the word לַפִּיד there occurs undoubtedly an amalgamation of synonymous words (see Ewald, Krit. Gr. s. 519), comp. in Arab. لَهَبَ *splenduit*, and لَمَعَ *the same* (especially of lightning), and the Greek word *λάμπω* is only derived, just as *σημαίνειν* stands connected with סָמַן.—Of the time of Solomon the word אַפִּרְיוֹן, Eccl. [Cant.] iii. 9, has been adduced as derived from the Greek, comp. *φορεῖον*, a *sedan* or *litter* (comp. 2 Macc. iii. 27, ix. 8.) So recently Hartmann, Thes. Ling. Heb. e Mishna augend. I. 41; Stud. und. Krit. 1830, H. 3, s. 657, ff. But the meaning thus attached to the word does not suit the connection of the passage (see Döpke, Hohelied, s. 117), this requires *bridal-bed* or *marriage-*

bed, and this meaning leads us to פָּרָה, *to be fruitful*, as the proper etymon (Döpke, s. 123.)[1] In later books about the period of the captivity, such as Ecclesiastes, some have asserted the existence of Grecisms (Zirkel, Untersuchungen, üb. d. Pred. s. 46, ff.), to which also Eichhorn inclines (Einl. III. § 658, ed. 1.) But this pretence is utterly groundless, and has been sufficiently confuted.[2] In the book of Daniel, Grecisms have also been discovered, which, however, cannot be proved to be such (comp. my Comment, s. 20, 88, 472, &c.); only the names of certain musical instruments which are mentioned chap. iii. are by recent enquirers held to be of Greek origin, but this also is subject to the gravest doubt, and it is possible to adduce for the words in question very good etymologies from the Semitic (see my Comment. s. 105, ff.) Though it may be admitted that by means of the relations which, antecedent to the Persian era, subsisted between Greece and Hither Asia, Greek words were naturalised there (see my Comment. s. 102, ff. Comp. Rosenmüller scholia in Dan. p. 14), it cannot be denied that in a linguistic aspect the influence of the East upon Greece was felt, rather than the converse; and in point of fact we must, for the reasons assigned, deny the existence of Greek words in any of the Hebrew documents now extant.[3]

§ 29. POETICAL AND PROSAIC STYLE.

Characteristic of the spirit of Hebraism is the form of Poetry peculiar to it. Since in it the idea always lords it over the form, so the latter is throughout more simple and unconstrainedly conformed to the idea than in newer and more cultivated tongues. The Hebrew contents itself with only such a disposition to poetical *form* as is required immediately by the character of the poetry. It knows only a rythmical prose, the regular combination of longer or shorter sections (strophes and parallel members of verses) into one whole.

1 [Gesenius derives it from פרה, to bear or carry (as currus from currendo, φορεῖον from φέρω, &c.); Ewald from פרה, *findere, secare*, and renders it a work well elaborated, a piece of elegant furniture. Gesenius seems alone right here.—Tr.]

2 Comp. Eichhorn's Bibl. der Bibl. Liter. IV. s. 904, ff. Schmidt, Salomo's Pred. Excurs. 3, s. 283, ff. Nachtigall, Koheleth, s. 51, ff., &c.

3 On the enriching of the Heb. from the allied dialects, the Aramaic and Arabic, see under.

This regularity of form, consequently, is observed more or less exactly according to the peculiar character of the Poet or the object with which he wrote; hence in poems chiefly designed for liturgical purposes (as the Psalms), the poetical form is more carefully preserved than for instance with the Prophets, which consequently, as respects the rhythmus, stand in some sort between poetry and prose.

But, though the Hebrew poetry knows no metres in the artificial sense of other languages, it has nevertheless a *diction* peculiar to it which all the more easily receives that peculiarity, since the other formal cultivation is wanting. "Not only partially is the language altered by the poetry, but it receives quite another meaning than in common use." (Solger, Erwin II. 77.) Hence the style of Hebrew poetry is distinguished in a very marked manner from that of prose, and the one, moreover, often floats into the other. To this subject belong especially the following:—

1. In a *lexical* respect there are certain peculiar rarer expressions in place of the ordinary to be observed. Thus, אֹמֶר for דָּבָר, אֱנוֹשׁ for אָדָם, אֹרַח for דֶּרֶךְ, אָתָה for בּוֹא, בַּל for לֹא, בָּחַת for דָּבָר, מְלָה for רָאָה, חָוָה for הִגִּיד, חָוָה for אִישׁ, גֶּבֶר for עָדָה, דֶּרֶךְ for עָבַר, קָרֵב for מִלְחָמָה, שְׁוָה for נָתִיב, יָרַד for שָׁפַר, יָפָה for &c. All these words are also extant in Aramaic, but there they are ordinary words (because there the Hebrew is the unusual); and they are used partly for the sake of the parallelism, where the synonymes of the language itself did not suffice, so that it was needful to borrow what was wanting from the dialects, as *e. gr.* Ps. lxxxi. 4, בֶּסֶה (al. כֶּסֶא), the *full-moon*, is used with reference to the preceding parallel חֹדֶשׁ, the *new-moon*, because for the former there is no proper Hebrew word (comp. Hirzel de Chaldaismi Bibl. orig. et auctor. crit. p. 13.) In general, however, it was for the sake of a more vigorous expression which was furnished by the foreign element, that it was used; the force of the declaration lay therein. It was exactly the same with the Greek poets, as Aristotle has already observed in his Poetic, c. 22: *σεμνὴ δὲ καὶ ἐξαλλάττουσα τὸ ἰδιωτικὸν* (scil. λέξις), *ἡ τοῖς ξενικοῖς κεχρημένη· ξενικὸν δὲ λέγω γλῶτταν* (dialect) *καὶ μεταφορὰν καὶ ἐπέκτασιν καὶ πᾶν τὸ παρὰ τὸ κύριον.* Hence also *e. gr.* the tragic poets intermingle with the Attic dialect many Dorisms, chiefly for the reasons assigned (comp. Matthiae, Gr. Gr. I. s. 12.)—The ad-

jectives which, as characteristic epithets, supply the place of a definite substantive, belong rather to the subject of rhetoric and the poetico-oriental mode of representation. Thus אָבִיר, *the strong*, for God; אַבִּיר, *the strong*, for bull or horse (Cant. vi. 9); חָרוּץ, *the sharp* (a thrashing instrument) Is. xxviii. 27, &c. In the Hebrew this usage is, however, simple and natural, so that the connection and context easily decide the meaning;[1] such ornamental epithets as the Arabic is so rich in even to satiety (comp. Damis in Bochart, Hieroz. II. p. 15. Rosenm., Willmet ad Antarae Moall. p. 170, sq.), are not found in the Hebrew. The Poets "are, except in the case of God's name, far removed from the use of standing honorary epithets, or appositions in the epic style, from the occasional intermingling of mere notabilities in the manner of Homer or Herodotus; as they never simply 'delectare volunt,' when they do introduce anything of this sort it is always something adapted to the train of ideas, either commendatory or dissuasive, or in some other way interesting." (Böttcher, Proben A.T. Schrifterkl. s. 179, ff.) To this belongs also the emphatic use of many abstract substantives in place of concrete designations or an adjective, as אֱמֶת, *truth*, for *truthful*, Ps. xix. 10; חֹשֶׁךְ, *darkness*, for *dark*, Ps. xxxv. 6. (Comp. Aurivillius, Dissert. p. 187, sq. ed. Michaelis; Ewald, Kr. Gr. s. 624, ff.)

2. In a *grammatical* respect there are many instances in which various objects of the Poet, or reasons on account of which the poetic diction should assume such peculiarities, prevailed. Thus, on the one hand, the rarer grammatical form or turn of the words exerts such an influence on the *meaning*, that it becomes the more select poetical expression, as *e. gr.* the singular form אֱלוֹהַּ in place of אֱלֹהִים, since the former obliterates the abstract conception (Godhead), and places the concrete, the representational in its stead; so also with many syntactical turns, as the use of the demonstrative for relative, Exod. xv. 16; Ps. ix. 16, civ. 8, which is hardly to be esteemed an Aramaism (as by Ewald, Gr. s. 650, and Hirzel, l. cit. p. 6, it is esteemed), but the demonstrative is here more

1 Hence much that has been classed under this head must be set aside as too artificial and far-fetched, as *e. gr.* עֲצוּמִים, commonly the strong (limbs of the lion); but it signifies rather *strength* collectively, and is only more select than עֶצֶם, Is. xli. 21; comp. Ewald Kr. Gr. s. 327.

vivid and energetic, as it rescues the clause from the merely prosaic connection by means of the relative ;[1] so also the indefinite form of expression, which often lends to the discourse a more elevated character (not rightly viewed by the grammarians as merely an omission of the article ; Gesenius, Lehrg. s. 652), *e. gr.* Ps. xxi. 2, "*A king* shall joy in thy strength," more energetic than "*the* king," &c. —On the other hand, the external form of poetry may exercise an influence on the grammatical character of the diction ; so that here archaisms re-appear, *e. gr.* the form הָוְיָה for הָיְתָה, the old fluctuating usage of the gender (Böttcher, Proben, s. 15) ; also Aramaisms, as foreign and rare, for instance the pl. in יִן—, &c., or even forms of a peculiar kind constructed from the Hebrew, as the elongation in דָה—, adopted for the sake of the rhythm (as יְשׁוּעָתָה, אֵימָתָה), see Ewald, Krit. Gr. s. 323, the suffixes in לָמוֹ—מוֹ, ימוֹ— (comp. these with forms like כָּמוֹ, &c., see Ewald, s. 364, ff.), suffixes in יהוּ—, וֹדִי, &c., see Böttcher, s. 124. On account of the frequent use of Paronomasia, especially by the Poets (see Saalschutz, Form d. Hebr. Poesie, s. 125, ff.), it often happens that in order to secure it an unusual word or form is employed (see my Comment. on Daniel, s. 356 ; Böttcher, s. 71.) Much, nevertheless, that has been ranked under this head is to be traced to a misunderstanding of the grammatical construction and spirit of the language, as, for instance, when Gesenius (Lehrg. s. 242 and 244) stamps as a poetic idiotism the intransitive conception of Piel and Hiphil (one quite opposed to the proper meaning of these conjugations.)

§ 30. DIALECTS OF THE HEBREW LANGUAGE.

From the documents which have reached us of Hebrew antiquity, little can be concluded with certainty as to the differences of dialect in this language, partly on account of the limited compass

2 The effect of this may be given in German: "Das Volk da—du hast es ja erworben." [The people there—thou hast indeed obtained it.] Exod. xv. 16; "Der ort da—du hast ihn ja für sie gegründet." [The place there—thou hast indeed founded it for them.] Ps. civ. 8. It is quite in accordance with the poets to prefer these short broken clauses in which the language is as it were wrung out in individual expressions; see the excellent remarks of De Wette, Pss. Einl. s. 55, 3te Aufl.

of these, partly because they are for the most part the productions of members of the kingdom of Judah. Hence the written language is to be regarded not in any such dependence upon the style of particular districts, but as sustaining a more general character, which the collective writers of the nation appropriated. That nevertheless there were diversities of dialect in Palestine, is rendered probable, partly *a priori* from the analogy of other allied languages, as *e. gr.* the Arabic, and is confirmed also by some historical testimonies. There is no ground, then, for calling it in question, as Löscher has done (De Causis Ling. Heb. p. 430; see in reply to him Carpzov, Animad. Philol. Crit. Sacr. p. 56.) As little, on the other hand, ought interchanges of letters, such as א with ע, א with ה, ב with פ, &c., to be regarded as such, as some scholars have done (so even Hartmann, Linguist. Einleit. s. 94, 95); these prove nothing as to a difference of *pronunciation*, and admit in the general of a much fitter explanation than that furnished by the usage of provincial pronunciation. Least of all admissible are such purely arbitrary assumptions, as that there are Moabitisms in Ruth which Dereser will discover there; on this see Gesenius, Gesch. s. 51. All that can with any certainty be enunciated on this head may be stated as follows:

1. It is in itself very likely that the style of speaking in the north of Palestine was different from that in the south. This is suggested by the consideration of the Phœnician (see § 21); there must in the former have been Aramaisms, and it was on the whole more corrupt and impure. We may be satisfied of this from the well-known fact of the Ephraimite substitution of the ס for the שׁ, Judg. xii. 6, which may be concluded to be a corruption of the original usage of the language, as we may observe this gradual softening of the *Shin*-sound in the Hebrew itself, and we may infer it would be much more so in the dialects.[1] Attempts have been made to discover in the Hebrew documents themselves traces of such a dialectical difference, and especially in the song of Deborah (Judg. v.), which contains undoubted Aramaisms, and issued from the tribe of Ephraim (Judg. iv. 5.)[2] It may, however, be alleged

1 Comp. Ewald, Krit. Gr. s. 28; Hupfeld, Exercitt. Aethiop. p. 5. The passage, Judg. xviii. 3, proves nothing for a diversity of styles of speech; there it is only of the individual utterance of a Levite that mention is made.

2 So Ewald, Hohenl. s. 18, ff., Krit. Gr. s. 5. Döpke z. Hohenl. s. 32.

that these Aramaisms are due to the poetical character of the song, and hence we are not justified in concluding from them in favour of the existence of a northern dialect.[1] But there are certain peculiarities which rebut this allegation. Of these it may be mentioned that we meet here first with the שׁ *praefixum* (v. 7), which never occurs in the Pentateuch; it occurs here for the first time in the poetry, and what is especially of weight, even in the prose of the book of Judges, in the section containing the history of Gideon (comp. vi. 17, vii. 12, viii. 26.) This fact leads us to the very probable conclusion, that at that time this idiotism impressed itself on the language as a northern peculiarity; it is especially probable that the Phœnicians had the same form.[2] Under this head also may be classed the plural ending, here for the first time occurring, מְדַיִן, v. 10, and forms like עַמְמִין, Syr. ܥܡܡܝܢ, ver. 14, which, excepting in the Chaldaic passages of Daniel and Neh. ix. 22, 24, are very anomalous in so common a word. Hosea and Amos have also been adduced as affording evidence on the point before us, but great uncertainty hangs over the cases adduced from them. We might expect the most to be found in the Song of Solomon, since it may be supposed that the author of it must, on account of the object, have borrowed much from the northern dialect, whence the Aramaic hue of the book may be explained (comp. Ewald, Hohenl. s. 19, ff.); still it is not to be denied that the highly *poetical* character of the book is sufficient to account here for its proportional, yet scanty, approximations to the Aramaic *usus*.

2. It is not less probable that there was a *vulgar dialect* as distinct from the *language of literature*. The former, as the more impure and corrupt, prevailed especially as the Hebrew was approaching its decay, during the period of the captivity. What of it appertains to an earlier time can be determined only by extreme labour (comp. Hirzel, l. cit. p. 12.) To me it appears most probable, that the only certain instances we have of a vulgar dialect, by which the pure language was ultimately superseded, are contained in the Pentateuch, and these but two; Exod. xvi. 15, מָן (comp. the Syr. ܡܢ) where the popular word is expressly

1 Comp. Hirzel, L. cit. p. 15.

2 See Bellermann on the Punic passage of the Poenulus III. s. 13.

used, as the author himself adds by way of correction, מַה־הִוא; so also Gen. xlvii. 23 in a similar case (where probably it was designed that the thing should be uttered in the popular style), הִוא is a word of the people, which is to be closely connected with the pronoun (הֵא־לָכֶם, "there you have;" comp. the Arab. هَا in هَنَا, and the Syr. ܗܵ in ܗܵܟܵܐ); see also Eichhorn Einl. I. s. 79, 4te Ausg.

§ 31. DIFFERENT PERIODS IN THE HEBREW LANGUAGE TILL THE TIME OF THE CAPTIVITY.

A. *Mosaic Age.*

Difficult as it may seem in many respects to form definite periods in the Hebrew language and literature, and such as shall be markedly distinguished from each other by their character, it is nevertheless possible, by a close investigation, to fix such in general,[1] and what is chiefly to be done here is to indicate the bearing of the more outward history of the people on the inward development and formation of the language and literature. It is true there is also a higher point from which the latter may be viewed, and in relation to which it must be surveyed, in so far as it is regarded as a special work of divine foresight, as *sacred* literature; but we have here first and chiefly to do with the other aspect of this subject, that which regards the rise of those documents viewed in relation to their form, from the human point of view, that is in their *natural* development.

With Moses begins the proper literature of the nation. Before him there were no doubt written documents from which he drew materials for the primitive history, especially of his own people, and in which many old expressions occur which, at the time of his collecting and reconstructing them, were no longer current, and are consequently explained by the writer himself, as Gen. xv. 2,

1 What has been attempted in this way (as by Gesenius Lib. cit. s. 21, ff., or by Hartmann Lib. cit. s. 309, ff.), is properly no dividing into periods (writings before and writings after the captivity), and its adduction leads to the greatest arbitrariness in this department.

בֶּן־ מֶשֶׁק בֵּיתִי, the son of my house-possession, *i.e.* my heir, comp. ver. 3, where this is explained by יוֹרֵשׁ אֹתִי בֶּן־ בֵּיתִי; and xxiv. 2, xvii. 5, רֹהַם (in אַבְרָהָם), according to the Arabic, رهام, which, according to the Kamus, signifies العدد الكثير, *numerus copiosus* (hence explained by הֲמוֹן גּוֹיִם), ; xxxix. 20, מְקוֹם אֲשֶׁר אֲסוּרֵי הַמֶּלֶךְ אֲסוּרִים is explained by בֵּית הַסֹּהַר.[1] In like manner the two words שָׂרַי and שָׂרָה, on the meaning of which there is a play in Gen. xvii. 15, 16, have no etymon in Hebrew; שָׂרַי from שָׂרָה, Arab. سرى, to be elevated, to rule (comp. Schultens, Exc. ex Ispah. p. 16; Hariri, Cons. V. p. 107), corresponding to the אַב־רָם, ver. 5, שָׂרָה, Arab. سرى, according to the Kamus, valde prolifera fuit mulier (Freytag, Lex. Arab. II. p. 304) comp. ver. 16.[2] In the time of Moses, then, we see there were extant written documents in which the language appears in such a state of development that it easily became capable of being used as a literary language in the more extended sense of the term. Such a development it might the more readily receive in Egypt from the circumstance that there the people lived apart by themselves, nay, stood in a hostile relation to the Egyptians (Gen. xlvi. 34; Ex. i. 13, 14), and hence would not be affected as to their speech by a "language which they knew not" (Ps. lxxxi. 6.)[3] With the founder of the Theocracy, however, begins, as the historical relations of the case might lead to expect, an entirely new literary epoch. Even the specimens of the vulgar tongue found in the Pentateuch (see preceding §) indicate the establishment of a proper language of literature by which that was entirely superseded, and which must have raised itself to general reception through the

1 סֹהַר can hardly mean *imprisonment* here as it is commonly taken, but corresponds to the Heb. אַרְמוֹן, בִּירָה, and בִּית denotes a place in the royal castle. Comp. in Syr. ܣܗܪܐ, palace, castle, thence ܣܗܪ̈ܝ, aulici; Assemani Bibl. or. I. 393. Barhebr. Chron. p. 539.

2 See also Jahn Einl. II. 1. s. 102. [See an erudite discussion of this name in Iken, Diss. Philol. Theol. Diss. I.—Tr.]

3 This does not preclude the Egyptian customs, the *idolatry* of Egypt, from having exerted an influence on the people (comp. Ex. xxxii.; Jos. xxiv. 14; Ez. xxiii. 2, 3, 8, 21); but in this case a totally different relation is supposed, as for this there was no need of any intimate intercourse or intercommunion with the Egyptians.

authority which attended upon it. With the new organization of the people, the legislative form which this composition assumed in the first instance stood in intimate relation; then came the history of the people during that past time with which the present was so closely connected; and to this was again added Poetry, in the shape of the sacred song as an essential part of the new worship and its fairest ornament (see Exod. xv.; Num. xx. 33, x. 35; comp. Ps. lxviii. 2; Deut. xii. 12, xvi. 11, 14, xxvi. 11, xxvii. 7.)[1] From this it comes to pass that in the Pentateuch there is a union of different kinds of writing, which at a later period served as models in these different branches of literature. As in the Greek literature we find that each writer employed always the dialect of the most eminent model in this or that department, so that the Homeric poems, for instance, became the standing type of the Epos; in like manner among the Hebrews it became customary to revert as to a common source to those ancient documents, alike for a rule of life and for literary models. Hence the Pentateuch came to exercise on the later books a totally different influence from that of the Coran on its subsequent literature, especially as the latter was preceded by productions of far higher merit than it, and worthy of being used as models.

As, in this way, standing at the top of the whole literature, the Pentateuch maintains its peculiarity also in reference to style, as even a very general survey will show. This is least apparent, as might be expected, in the historical sections, in which, however, a marked difference in point of age is apparent when we compare them with the latest historical works, such as Chronicles, Ezra, and Nehemiah. Very peculiar, on the contrary, is the form in which the laws are communicated; it is marked by the greatest clearness, and the most careful exactness, as is indicated formally in the invariable equality of the inscriptions, and concluding formula of each law, in the repetition of the same word (to wit of the verb with each more exact definition);[2] the laws are thus rendered very precise, the language in which they are embodied is so compact, that they

1 The expression, "to rejoice before the Lord," denotes here nothing else than honour him by sacred songs; comp. Spencer, De Legg. Heb. ritual, p. 884, ed. 3. Movers, Krit. Untersuch. über d. Bibl. Chronik, s. 19, ff.

2 For example, אָשֹׁם הוּא אָשֹׁם לַיהוָה, Levit. v. 19; מִזְכַּר עַר־נְקֵבָה תְּשַׁלְּחוּ אֶל־מִדּוּץ יְהוָה לְמִדּוּנָה תְּשַׁלֵּחוּם, Num. v. 3, etc.

often resemble Proverbs, which are in this way with peculiar depth imprinted on the memory. This is peculiarly the case with those ever-recurring theocratic ground-notions, which are adduced as the highest motives to obedience, as אֲנִי יְהוָה (*e. gr.* Lev. xxii. 30—33, where it occurs four times in the four verses); or, "I am your God and ye are my people;" "I have brought you out of Egypt," &c.[1] From this the language itself obtained a very definite character, great purity and correctness, just as we see from a similar cause in the writings of the Latin Jurists, though they wrote in the age of declining Latinity, when one wonders to find purity of style and good writing[2]. In the poetical parts, however, of the Pentateuch, the peculiarity of style is especially noticeable, for in these we find not only a wonderful elevation and force of expression, but also a want of artificiality in point of form, which is foreign to the following period of poetry, and finds only in lyric poems like that of Deborah anything analogous to it. All is here made to depend on the boldness of the expression, which constitutes during this period the essential element of the poetry, as parallelism and the strophal construction are not attended to. It is by comparing these poems with those of a later age, in which similar themes are handled, and which were composed with the former in the eye of the writer, that their characteristic peculiarities become most manifest, *e. gr.* Ps. lxviii., where the parallel may be very completely drawn; thus *e. gr.*, the commencement, ver. 5 (4), "Sing unto God, sing praises to his name," compared with "To Jehovah will I sing," Exod. xv. 1; the simple בִּישִׁימוֹן ver. 8 (7), with the unwieldy but energetic בְּתֹהוּ יְלֵל יְשִׁמֹן, Deut. xxxii. 10; the turn, ver. 14 (13) with Gen. xlix. 14 (Judg. v. 16); ver. 18 (17) with Deut. xxxiii. 2; ver. 22 (21) with Deut. xxxiii. 11, &c.—The style of Deuteronomy partakes of a rhetorical character which not seldom reminds one of the prophetical admonitions

1 Such laws as Exod. xxi. 23, 24, "נֶפֶשׁ תַּחַת נָפֶשׁ עַיִן תַּחַת עַיִן שֵׁן תַּחַת שֵׁן וגו, are properly proverbs, the meaning of which is given in what follows; some other passages simply refer to the Gnomes as Lev. xxiv. 19; Deut. xix. 21. Such passages sometimes have a formal poetic parallelism, as וּמַכֵּה בְהֵמָה יְשַׁלְּמֶנָּה וּמַכֵּה אָדָם יוּמָת, Lev. xxiv. 21, a formal versus memorialis to be viewed as the refrain of the law; comp. also Exod. xxii. 19, 27; Lev. iii. 17, v. 26, &c.

2 Comp. Zimmern, Gesch. d. Röm. Privat-Rechts I. 235, ff. Bähr, Gesch. d. Röm. Lit. s. 547.

(comp. *e. gr.* iv. 1, ff.; v. 2, ff.); this is in perfect keeping with the historical relations, as in that book we have the farewell words of the Lawgiver, who vividly retraces the proofs of the divine grace, and the obduracy of the people in the former time, and anticipates in that which is to come new blessings and at the sametime new and terrible chastisements. "Magnum atque incomparabilem legislatorem," says Pareau excellently, Instit., p. 408, "eundemque summopere venerabilem senem audire mihi videor loquentem, qui post superatas incredibiles molestias morti suorumque adeo laborum fini proximus cum summa dignitate eximioque animi affectu suos populares ad legum suarum observationem omnibus modis permovere ita studebat, nihil ut ad ejus indolem, consilium ac personam magis appositum fingi posse, mihi persuasissimum habeam."

Even in minute particulars the diction[1] of the Pentateuch attests itself to be very peculiar. This would come out still more were it not that the later writers conformed themselves so closely to this as to the model they had before their eyes, and shaped their diction accordingly. Particularly marked is this imitation of the Pentateuch in the writings of the time of the captivity and later, when the relations of the age naturally induced a recurrence to the earlier treasure of divine revelations;[2] but when especially also the language had lost its substantiality, and for its maintenance had exchanged a free development for a cleaving to what had been in the earlier period. Still the idiom of the Pentateuch may be recognised as a treasure of peculiar expressions and ideas, from an exact investigation of which its original character cannot be missed, so that what alone appertains to it may be viewed as the earliest in the development of the language. This by excellent and profound grammarians of our day has been acknowledged in favour of the high antiquity of that book;[3] only that, fettered by the prejudices of a one-sided and perverted criticism, they have sought to restrict this

1 Comp. Jahn, über Sprache und Schreibart des Pent., in Bengel's Archiv. fur d. Theol. II. 8, und III. 1. This is a sadly uncritical production. More thorough, but not exhaustive is the Aufs. d. Aechtheit d. Pent. aus s. Sprache, in Tholuck's Lit. Anz., 1833, No. 44, 45.

2 See my Comment. on Dan., s. 319, ff.

3 Comp. Ewald, Gram. d. Hebr. Spr. in ausf. Kürze. s. 3. Böttcher, Proben, &c., s. 70, who with justice blames the "new hypercriticism which has too little considered the linguistic character of the first four books of Moses, to be able to confute their, in part, very high antiquity."

observation to the first four books, whereas it is evident that *all* the books of the Pentateuch participate in these peculiarities. What these are may be stated as follows:—

We begin with mentioning the peculiarities in *grammatical formation.* The making no distinction of gender in the pron. הוּא is *regular* in the Pentateuch, the הִיא belongs here to the anomalies of diction; in all the other books, however, the masc. and fem. are *invariably* discriminated, and so also in the Dialects. In this respect the usage of the Pentateuch stands in the same relation to the later usage, as the further formation of the הֵם, הֵן, הֵמָּה, הֵנָּה, in Aramaic bears to the Hebrew simplicity generally. The ground-form of the demonstrative pronoun appears in לָזֶה,[1] Gen. xxiv. 65; xxxvii. 19 (elsewhere only in poetry, Is. lviii. 5, and here with a special emphasis which is not noticeable in the Pentateuch.) As an *Archaism* Ezekiel uses also the form לָזוּ. With this may be compared the Arabic لذي, especially peculiar to the poets; Ewald, Gr. Arab. I. 334. The older form הָאֵל in place of אֵלֶּה, occurs eight times in the Pentateuch in all the books; elsewhere only in the imitative passage, 1 Chron. xx. 8.[2] The Pentateuch uses the short form only where (for syntactical reasons) the article is used; so that it is an *abusus* when the Chronicler places this form in a case in which the Pent. would have used

1 This cannot be viewed, as Ewald proposes, as a compound pronoun (Gr. Kr., s. 174.) For the Hebrew in its simplicity was a stranger as yet to compound pronouns, such as are found in more cultivated languages; to this the composition with the article which however is *syntactically* necessitated (Ewald, s. 625, ff.), furnishes only an apparent exception. From לָזֶה is abbreviated זֶה, just as the roots, לאם, לאם, אמם, עמם, עם are connected; see Ewald, Hohenl., s. 116. Comp. Peiper de Lebidi Moall. p. 71.

2 The form has nevertheless been so misunderstood by even our most recent grammarians (Ewald, s. 173. Stier, Neugeordn. Lehrgeb., s. 180), that they have classed it with the article הַל, אַל, and not with the singular זֶה. In opposition to this there are 1, the use of it with the article in הָאֵל; and, 2, the form אֵלֶּה itself. The formation of the pronoun may be represented thus: from לָזוּ, לָזֶה comes the regular plural form extant in the Arab. الذين, contracted in the Zabic into הידין, in the Hebr. (for the more exact distinction from the singular, through the expulsion of the י into אֵלֶּה. The ה at the end is for the more emphatic designation of the plural, which, however, is without any proper ending in this sort of words, as in the Aramaic there is the analogous status emphaticus.

only the fuller form.—בַּחֲנוּ (comp. the Arab. فَحَصَ) occurs four times in the Pent.; elsewhere only twice in the whole of the O. T. The excellent remarks of Ewald on the gradual rise of the א prostheticum (s. 73, ff. comp. s. 117), may be applied here; they would show that the form נַחְנוּ is the more ancient.—Of suffixes we find the old not-contracted form הוּ— in the Pent. (Gen. i. 12, 21); at a later period in prose only in Judg. xix. 24; that formed from this, and constituting the transition to וֹ—, viz. הֹ—, is very frequent in the Pent.; Gen. xlix. 11; Exod. xxii. 4, 26; xxxii. 17; Lev. xxiii. 13; Num. x. 36, (Jos. xi. 16), in later books only in poetry, and even here but seldom, and as an archaism, in the books of the captivity (Kings and Ezekiel); see the passages in Hiller, De Arcano Ketibh et Keri, p. 37. Perfectly unique and primitive is the verbal suffix מוּ—, Exod. xv. 5. Ancient is the verbal form יַעֲמִדְנָה, Gen. xxx. 38, see my Comment. on Daniel, s. 303 [where the author maintains that the word is not a Chaldaism, and of later usage, but the ancient form of the word.] A peculiar abbreviation of the imperative, which is altogether in keeping with the original character of this form, occurs in the forms שְׁמַעַן, Gen. iv. 23, קְרָאן, Ex. ii. 20, see Gesenius, Lehrg. s. 290. Ewald, s. 286.—The הַ— intensive in the second mode with וְ conversive occurs in the whole Pentateuch only four times, but in the books of the immediately following period it is very common (see Judg. vi. 10; x. 12; xii. 3; Ps. iii. 6; vii. 5), whilst in the writings of the time of the captivity it is regular.—The full and original form וּן— as a termination-syllable in the first mode occurs in Deut. viii. 3, 16, יְרָעוּן, besides this only once in the poetry of Isaiah xxvi. 16; comp. Ewald, s. 265. Eichhorn (Einl. I. 76, 4te Aufl.) justly regards the form as an archaism, and what Gesenius has urged in reply (Lehrg. s. 265), is founded on a misunderstanding of the וּן.—The Niphal form of the verbs פא has throughout retained its gutteral formation; only in the Pentateuch is the original retained נֶאֱחַז, Num. xxxii. 30; it occurs again in the passage Josh. xxii. 9, but this is an express citation of the other.[1] Peculiar is the transposition of the ת in Hithpael with

1 The words used here are עַל־פִּי יְהוֹשֻׁעַ בְּיַד מֹשֶׁה. Strange that Gesenius should cite *only* the passage in Joshua! (Lehrg. s. 377.)

other letters than Dentals, to which elsewhere it is restricted, thus תִּתְצַב for תִּתְיַצַּב,[1] Exod. ii. 4, which in Arab. has come to be the regular form in the eighth conjugation.[2] The inf. constr. of נָתַן has only in the Pent. its original form נְתֹן, Gen. xxxviii. 9; Num. xx. 21.—The rise of the verbs עי from stems עו may be frequently recognised in the Pentateuch, though here also the later usage appears, as Gen. vi. 3, דִּין, Gen. xxiv. 63, שִׂיחַ, Exod. iv. 11, יָשׂוּם, Deut. xxx. 9, שׂוּשׂ, &c.—The strong noun-forms ־ָם, ־ֶם, in place of ־וֹן and ־ֵן occur most frequently in the Pent. Thus פְּדוּיִם, Num. iii. 49 (besides פִּדְיוֹן, Exod. xxi. 30), דְּרוֹם, Deut. xxxiii. 23 (this, however, occurs also in the books of the captivity), סֻלָּם Gen. xxviii. 12, כְּנָם Exod. viii. 13, 14. Only אוּלָם is expressly a later noun.—The abstract formation with מ prefixed is found in reference to relations of time only in the Pent., comp. Gen. xxxviii. 24, מִשְׁלֹשׁ, a space of three (months); Exod. xii. 40, מוֹשָׁב, the time of residence.—The gender appears strangely neglected in נַעַר, a young man or maid.[3] Analogous is the use of כַּף, which often in the Pent. occurs in a transferred sense, without assuming, as by rule it should in that case, the feminine form: thus it is used Lev. xxiii. 40, for the branch of the palm; the later usage is כַּפָּה.—The termination of the status constr. in ִי is peculiar to the Pent. only in prose; it is also distinguished by the use of the ־וּ in the same sense; comp. Ewald, s. 376, ff.—The form יְקוּם, the constituent, the essence, occurs only in Gen. vii. 4, 23; Deut. xi. 6; comp. Ewald, s. 261.—There is much also in a *syntactical* respect that is worthy of notice; the use of the Pron. separ. in the casus obliquus without any other pronoun preceding, as לְשֵׁת גַּם הוּא יֻלַּד, Gen. iv. 26, x. 26, for which in later books

1 [Qu. תִּתְיַצַּב?—Tr.]

2 So Schultens has already correctly explained this form (Institt. Heb. p. 470) with the accordance of Vater, Hebr. Sprachl. s. 271; Lee, Grammar of the Heb. Lang. p. 219, sec. ed., Stier, s. 351. Here Gesenius errs, Lehrg. s. 386.

2 A similar phenomenon is found in the Old German, see Grimm, Gr. III. 319. A converse case is furnished by the appending of the Masc. ־ס in the later Aramaic usage to בְּתוּלָה (see, *e. gr.*, Assem. Bibl. Orient. I. 362.) Also in the Old Latin the same thing is found: Etiam in commentariis sacrorum pontificalium frequenter est *hic ovis et haec agnus ac haec porcus*, quae non ut vitia sed ut *antiquam consuetudinem testantia* debemus accipere. Festus p. 236, ed. Lindemann.

לוֹ is used, see 2 Sam. vi. 23.—The influence of the suffix on a following substantive is of such a kind that it alters its form without giving it the suffix, thus עָזִּי וְזִמְרָת in place of זִמְרָתִי, see Ewald Kurz. Gr. s. 288 (imitated in Is. xii. 2; Ps. cxviii. 14.)—The word מֵאָה is always used in the Pent. as a substantive, and it is not till a later period that like the other numerals it loses this its proper form; Ewald, Kr. Gr. s. 628.—Interesting is the expression of measures of *quantity*. To convey the idea of *times* there was in the post-Mosaic language a double expression fixed, either (*a*) with the substantive פַּעַם, פְּעָמִים, or (*b*) the simple numeral, where no amphiboly happened.[1] In the Pent. this fixed usage does not appear, and besides these modes of expression we find also the following: (*a*) רְגָלִים, Ex. xxiii. 14; Num. xxii. 28, 32, 33; this occurs *nowhere* else;[2] (*b*) מֹנִים, an old word, properly *numbers*, from מוּן = מָנָה, Gen. xxxi. 7, 41.

There are besides in the Pent. a great many peculiar ancient expressions and turns of words, of which the principal may be mentioned here: גּוֹזָל, of young birds, Gen. xv. 9; Deut. xxxii. 11. In the later books we have for this simply בֵּן.—רְאֵה as a particle, like ἴδοὺ, for הֵן, הִנֵּה, occurs nine times in the Pent. (in imitation of this Josh. vi. 2, viii. 1; cf. Gen. xli. 41); elsewhere only in 1 Sam. vii. 2; 2 Sam. xv. 3.—מִסָּת, *enough*, Deut. xvi. 10, cf. Michaelis, Supplement II. p. 1528, for the word used elsewhere, רַב, Köster Erläuterungen, d. H. Schr., s. 121.—בָּזֶה, *here*, Gen. xxxviii. 21, xlviii. 9; Num. xxii. 19, xxiii. 1; elsewhere only בַּזֶּה, 1 Sam. xxi. 10, according to a later mode of writing; see Hitzig on Is. s. 300.—גָּחוֹן belly, Gen. iii. 14; Lev. xi. 42.—אוֹן in the sense of *pain, smart*, only in Gen. xxxv. 18; Deut. xxvi. 14. The other writers always אֶוֶן, except Hos. ix. 4, where there is evidently a reference to the Pent. comp. Gesen. Thes. i. p. 52.—מִין *species*, in the Pent. twenty-eight times (thence

[1] The עִתִּים, Neh. ix. 28, in the same sense is an Aramaic form of speech, see Michaelis, Gr. Syr. p. 282. Hoffman, Gr. Syr. p. 305.

[2] Hence the expression in the passage in Exod. was so misunderstood by the Jews that they took רגל in the sense of *festival*, because this word really has this meaning with them. Buxtorf, Lex. Rab. Chald. Talm. p. 2204, sq. Hartmann, Thes. Ling. Heb. e Mishna augend. III., p. 113.

by Ez. lxvii. 10, comp. Gen. i. 21), for which, as early as the age of David, יָן was used, Ps. clxiv. 13.—For קָבַב *to curse*,[1] the later usage was נָקַב.—כָּשַׁב in the Pent. fourteen times, nowhere in any of the other books, which always use כָּבַשׁ, which also is found in the Pent. The first form appears to have been the original, since it adheres most closely to the etymology.[2] רָכַשׁ and רִכּוּשׁ are very common in Genesis, also Num. xvi. 32, but disappear from use till the latest books (Dan., Chron., Ezra), where, however, the latter is used without any regard to its proper meaning, of *cattle* (see 2 Chr. xxxi. 3); whereas in the Pent. this is always the proper appellation of dead property as distinguished from living (מִקְנֶה, נֶפֶשׁ; comp. the Homeric expression *κειμήλιά τε πρόβασίν τε*. Od. II. 75.)

Peculiar phrases are chiefly the following: their shadow (צֵלָם) is gone from them (Num. xiv. 9), an old poetical phrase for their help is taken from them, they are helpless; this occurs nowhere else, though צֵל in the sense of defence, help is common in poetry.—Quite peculiar to the Pent. is the phrase נֶאֱסַף אֶל עַמָּיו, which never is used in the other books, but only שָׁכַב עִם אֲבוֹתָיו. This stands closely connected with the consequent phraseology of the Pent., which has been as little attended to it as it is profoundly conceived. עַם stands in the Pent. continually in a strict juridical sense suited to its etymology (properly the *confederate*, rad. עָמַם), and is discriminated in the singular from גּוֹי, which is never used of the people of God who are regarded as bound together by an internal theocratic principle of unity. In the Post-Mosaic period we first meet with the interchange of those two words.[3] In the Prophets also the plural

1 Also the derivatives מְקֻבָּה and קֻבָּה are the peculiar property of the Pent., Num. xxv. 8; Deut. xviii. 3. See on the former Lorsbach in Paulus Neuem Repetor. III. 110 ff. Döpke, Annott. ad Michaelis Chr. Syr. p. 171, sq. Frähn de Arab. auct. libr. vulg. &c. p. 21 sq. Jen. Al. Lit. Zeit. Ergänz. Bl. 1821. No. 27, s. 210.

2 The etymology given by Gesenius is not felicitous. The root is the Arab كسب, prop. *colligere*, *acquirere*, (connected with כָּבַשׁ כָּבַס, كبس, to tread with the feet, thence to subdue) *to gain*, hence كسب, *lucrum* (*e. gr.* Gen. xxvi. 14, Arab. Vers. of Erpenius)—consequently *revenue*, *property*, specially the property of the Nomades, viz., *cattle*; comp. מִקְנֶה

3 Hence Gesenius, Thes. p. 272, must be corrected. The passages adduced by him from Genesis prove the very opposite of what he asserts.

is used in a wider acceptation (*e. gr.* Hos. ix. 1; Is xi. 10, &c.); whilst on the contrary in the Pent. it is always used in a proper sense in keeping with the singular meaning constantly in it. Thoughout it denotes what belongs to the עַם as a whole, the constitutive part of it *(populares)*; hence, after the founding of the theocracy by Moses, constantly the twelve tribes = שְׁבָטִים (thus in Exod., Lev., Num., Deut.) The later books do not require this usage (for in the passage in Hosea x. 14, עַמִּים is *bands, troops.*)[1] With this stands in pretty close connexion the use of עֲמִית belonging to the Pent., properly the *fellowship*, the *confederacy*,[2] in this sense also constant; there is no need for translating it *neighbour*, which, moreover, does not suite the abstract form. Inseparable from this is the use of מִשְׁפָּחָה as denoting the individual tribes, which limited usage the earlier prophets (Amos iii. 1; Micah ii. 3) already have lost sight of. Therewith also hangs connected in fine, the use of בֵּית אָב *family*, which expression does not occur in the later writers, except in the imitative passage, 1 Chr. v. 22, comp. Michaelis, Mos. Recht. I. 227.—רֵיחַ הַנִּיחֹחַ the sweet savour of an offering pleasing to God (comp. Köster, Erl. s. 222), is found only in the Pent., but there extraordinarily often. That at a later period this was viewed as unusual is shown by the variation of it רֵיחַ מְזֻהָה, 1 Sam. xxvi. 19.—The phrase קוּמָה יְהוָה is properly the address to God at the setting forward of the Ark (Num. x. 35), from which proper and historical usage it is often employed in the Psalms in the tropical sense of *help*.—The turns וַיַּעְפִּלוּ לַעֲלוֹת, Num. xiv. 44, and וַתָּהִינוּ לַעֲלוֹת Deut. i. 41, are ancient and quite peculiar, and can be explained only by the help of the Arabic (see Schultens, Animad. Phil. ad. h. l.)—The denoting of copulation by גָּלָה עֶרְוָה is a standing usage of the Pent., followed only by Ez. xxii. 10, which passage plainly alludes to Lev. xx. 11. In later writers the analogous גָּלָה מַרְגְּלוֹת (Ruth iii. 4) alone occurs. How at a later period this phrase bore a quite different meaning is shown (Is. lxvii. 2.

1 Exactly similar is the relation of *gens* (genus) and *gentes*, cf. Servius ad Virg. Aen. 1. 67. Gronov. ad. Senec. Hippol. 900.

2 See on the idea Tholuck Ausl. d. Bergpredigt. s. 326, ff., also Hengstenberg, Christologie II. 333, ff.

—Only in the Pent. do we find the phrase כִּסָּה אֶת עֵין הָאָרֶץ to cover the eye of the earth, a poetical representative pictorial expression, in which the earth is personified as a woman with a veiled countenance; Exod. x. 5, 15; Num. xxii. 5, 11; (see Lit. Anz. No. cit. s. 354.)

These and similar observances of a constant ancient usage of language have been for the most part entirely ignored by recent critics, who have asserted that the Pentateuch is not genuine; especially have attempts been made to detect a very late usage in Deuteronomy.[1] But a strict investigation of the examples adduced in support of this shows rather the very opposite of this assertion, and the refutation of what has been advanced with this view must serve as a very strong positive proof of the antiquity of this specially misbandled book, as well as a confirmation of the peculiarity of the linguistic treasures of the Mosaic Period. As later words and phrases the following have been adduced. "The words נָתַן לְזִוָעָה, Deut. xxviii. 25." But that we have the earlier usage in Deuteronomy appears—1, From the form זְוָעָה, for which Isaiah has the later זַוְעָה, xxviii. 19, and Jeremiah also constantly, also the Aramaic וסבן (Asseman. Bibl. Or. I. 47, 361); only Ezekiel, following the Pentateuch, again writes זְוָעָה (xxiii. 46); 2. How the expression came to be borrowed from the Pentateuch is shown in Ezekiel by the form of the word,—in the Chronicles (2 Chron. xxix. 8) by the connection, as the writer plainly adduces the fulfilling of the ancient prediction,[2]—in Jeremiah by the entire phrase לְזִוָעָה לְכֹל מַמְלְכוֹת הָאָרֶץ, which recurs four times with him, a fact which cannot be viewed as accidental (xv. 4; xxiv. 9; xxix. 18; xxxiv. 17).—"זָרִים in the sense of strange Gods, xxxii. 26; comp. Jer. iii. 13, v. 19." A most incorrect remark! In Jer. v. 19 זָרִים means *foes*; in the Old Testament generally it never signifies *idols*, but only in the later usage *gallant*, according to the analogy of זָרָה, a strange woman, an unchaste woman, thus Jer. ii. 25, iii. 13;

[1] So De Wette de Deuteronomio (Jenae 1805, 4to), p. 7, sq.; Vater, Comment, üb d. Pent. III., 493; Gesenius, Gesch. s. 32; Hartmann, üb d. Pent. s. 643, ff. The last adduces the most numerous examples, and hence has been chiefly noticed by us.

[2] "As ye see with your eyes," *i.e.* words the fulfilment of which is now so manifestly realized.

Ez. xvi. 32 (comp. Hos. v. 7, בָּנִים זָרִים, children of whoredom). In the passage in Deuteronomy the word cannot signify *idols*; (*a*) because of the Parallelism (בָּתוֹעֵבֹת); (*b*) because of the ancient usage זָרָא, which the parallelism suggests as to be brought into application here in the sense of nausea, disgust, Num. xi. 20.[1]—"יָרֵחַ Month, xxi. 13," occurs also Exod. ii. 2, and is, as respects the meaning, quite distinct from חֹדֶשׁ, see Ideler, Handb. der Math. und Tech. Chronik. I. 488.—"לֶקַח Doctrine, xxxii. 2," is not found in the late books, otherwise we must somehow adjudge Proverbs and Isaiah to be such; the word is poetic.—"נִדָּחֶיךָ thy repudiated ones, xxx. 4." What there is in this word indicative of a later usage I cannot conceive; comp. 2 Sam. xiv. 13. "נָשָׂה, in Hiphil, to lend, xv. 2, xxiv. 10." But it so happens that the Hiphil is exactly the original, and the one corresponding to the idea of the verb (see Exod. xxii. 24), and the use of the Kal in this sense is a later usage. "נָתַשׁ, to uproot, xxix. 27." But how the special meaning (in exilium agere) passed from that in Deuteronomy to the later usage is shown by Jer. xii. 14, where the entire phrase is constructed out of Deuteronomy.—"פְּרִשְׁתַּיִם, two parts, xxi. 7." But the expression became absolute at a later period, and was only transferred from this place as well to 2 Kings ii. 9 as to Zech. xiii. 8 (see Hengstenberg, Christologie II. 342).—"שָׁכַל, to kill the youth," xxxii. 25. This word occurs also in the other books of the Pentateuch, and has in the place cited certainly the meaning assigned, but to adduce this as its proper meaning is to overlook the influence of the poetic style which alone gives it this.—"שְׁרִירוּת, obduracy, xxix. 18." In the fes-

1 This word, indeed, has been incorrectly explained and derived even in the most recent Lexicons, *e. gr.*, Winer, p. 278. זוּר signifies properly *declinare, deflectere*, as well in Heb. (Ps. lxxviii. 30), as in Arab. زار (Comn. xviii. 16; Schultens, Exc. ex. Ham. p. 484. not. Ant. Moall. xxviii. 69), hence (*b*) *to be estranged, hostile*, (*c*) *abhorrere, fastidire*, so זוּר Job xix. 17; Syr. ܙܘܪ contemptus est, Arab. زرى (*e. gr.* Lokman, Fab. ii.) زأى, fastidivit. Thence זְרָא nausea, fastidium, which is also a masculine form (see Ewald, Krit. Gr. s. 294, note), wherefore, according to the same analogy, זָר may be easily formed from זוּר as that from זוּד.

tival Psalm of Asaph (Ps. lxxxi., comp. Clauss, Beitr. z. Krit. und Exeg. d. Pss. s. 426, ff.), this word is borrowed from Deuteronomy, ver. 13, which is rendered all the more probable by the fact that the Psalm is composed of passages from the Pentateuch. Still more may the passage of Jeremiah, where the expression occurs, be viewed as borrowed.—"גֹּדֶל, honour, majesty, v. 21, ix. 26, for כָּבוֹד." But גֹּדֶל is expressly distinguished from כבוד, see Deut. v. 21. It is not גֹּדֶל that is the later word, but גְּדֻלָּה (of God, Ps. cxlv. 3; 1 Chron. xxix. 11) as is the case with all such abstract words, which are *never* found in the Pentateuch. Of God, however, גֹּדֶל is used, Num. xiv. 19, with which passage Deut. ix. 26 exactly corresponds (the greatness of the forgiving grace of God.)—"בְּעֵר הָרָע to remove the wicked, xiii. 6, &c." On this much stress is laid, and yet most unreasonably. That the formula is not of later origin is shown by Judges xx. 13, where it occurs with verbatim reference to the Pentateuch. But it is a mistake to take this as identical with "this soul shall be extirpated from among the people." The latter does not always denote death-punishment;[1] but an uprooting out of the Theocracy, *i.e.*, a deprivation of the gracious privileges of the Theocracy,[2]—the criminal must endure a theocratic penalty. But the phrase in Deuteronomy has quite another meaning; it does not describe a general punishment, but a definite removal of the wicked; it on this account refers constantly to a definite action of the people, and hence *everywhere* there is mentioned along with it the punishment to be inflicted, usually death (from which the only exception is in xix. 19.) The formula is thus well suited to Deuteronomy, which is to be viewed generally as the statute book in which minuter arrangements are specified.—"קָרָא שֵׁם יְהוָה, to call upon the name of Jehovah, to worship him, xxxii. 3." There is nothing here indicative of a later origin;

1 See Michaelis, Mos. Recht V. 40; Vater, Pent. I. 211; Gesenius and Winer, s. v. כָּרַת.

2 This is clear, 1, from the circumstance that in many passages the punishment is not more exactly indicated, where God reserves the infliction of it to himself; 2, from the passages such as Lev. vii 18, ff. c. xvii., where this phrase is used interchangeably with נָשָׂא עָוֹן to bear his guilt, to receive the recompence thereof; 3, from Ps. xxxvii. 22, where that wider idea is presented by the antithetical phrase, *to inherit the land*; 4, from Ezra x. 8, where instead of it we find יִבָּדֵל מִקְּהַל.

the phrase is good old Hebrew.—"הֵשִׁיב עַל לֵב, to lay to heart, iv. 39, xxx. 1." So Hartmann, s. 660. A terrible oversight! In Deuteronomy the words are הֵשִׁיב אֶל־לֵב. This is strictly the *most ancient* form, which is found *nowhere* else. Isaiah has already in place of it עַל, xlvi. 8. With perfect accuracy Winer says, Lex. p. 718: "in *recentioribus* tamen libris non negamus עַל pro אֶל positum reperiri." The properly *late* phrase which was already allied to the Aramaic, is שׂוּם עַל לֵב cf. Dan. i. 8; Mal. ii. 2, for which in the older books we have also אֶל, 2 Sam. xiii. 33.—"דִּבֶּר סָרָה to teach apostacy, xiii. 5." The phrase is used quite naturally in the law with reference to the false prophets, and just as naturally it is used by Jer. xxviii. 16, xxix. 32, where this law is cited and the use of it required.—"לֹא־עֵץ, that which is nothing less than wood, xxxii. 21." So Hartmann, s. 661. But in Deuteronomy the words are לֹא־אֵל!! What he quotes occurs in Isaiah. There has been here an overlooking of the rule that this union of לֹא with a substantive, so as to enunciate an adjectival conception, occurs only with the *poets* (and therefore quite appropriately in the passage in Deuteronomy) comp. Ewald, Krit. Gr. s. 655; in *prose* it is found only in the very late writers, as in 1 Chron. ii. 30, where it is an Aramaism; see Hoffmann, Gr. Syr., p. 312.—"עַל דְּבַר אֲשֶׁר in reference thereto, that, since; xxii. 24; xxiii. 5. This phrase forms the transition to the two synonymous phrases formed in the same way, עַל דִּבְרַת שֶׁ Eccles. vii. 14, and עַל דִּבְרַת דִּי, Dan. ii. 30." But it is altogether an error to seek the late and the Aramaising peculiarity of the phrase in the עַל דבר, which is old Hebrew; that appears rather in the mutation of the concrete דָּבָר into the abstract דִּבְרָה. Hence this phrase is really an evidence of the antiquity of Deuteronomy.

But we are told further that "the infinitive with a feminine termination" must be a late peculiarity (Hartmann l. cit.) If it *must*, it cannot be helped, only such forms are found in all the books of the Pentateuch (even in Gen. xix. 16), and their rise has its reason in the nature of the infin. as that which forms the transition from the verbal to the noun form, and the older the writing is the more likely is it to bear the stamp of such formations, one of which is found in Gen. xix. 19, which one re-appears in Amos. iv. 11, a passage

verbally cited hence.[1]—"The feminine ending ת— of the third pers. of the verb" occurs in all the books of the Pent.—"The union of the part. מִן with the fut. in the sense of *that not*, xxxiii. 11." But here we have poetry of the most daring kind, and the וְקִוּ מִוֹן is to be construed as an independent clause. Entirely analogous is the use of the מִשָּׁם, Gen. xlix. 24, comp. Ewald, s. 577 and 647. This forbids our comparing the feeble Aramaic ? מִכַּמָּן.—"לְמִן from anything, *inde*." But this is in no respect a later usage (since even לְ here is not an idle addition),[2] but a specially delicate turn of the Hebrew language, in virtue of which, when an enumeration is described as reaching its highest point, this point is thus particularly marked (inde a), Ewald, Schulgr. s. 271.—"לְ with the inf. as a circumscription of the future, and that both with and without הָיָה, iv. 2, xxxi. 17." But this also is founded on gross misunderstandings. The inf. dependant form הָיָה with לְ is good Hebrew, and does not in any way stand as a simple circumscription of the future (according to Gesenius, Lehrg. s. 786, ff. Hartmann Ling. Einl. s. 189), and is consequently not to be paralleled with the Aramaic כְּ seq. לְ, but stands always emphatically in the proper sense. The הָיָה embraces the reference of one thing to another, so that it is directed upon it, and hence it stands (*a*) in the sense *to be in the mind*, Gen. xv. 22 (12); Jos. ii. 5; (*b*) *to be determined to any thing*, Num. xxiv. 22; Deut. xxxi. 17; Is. vi. 13, ix. 4; (*c*) *to be ready for something*, to be disposed for it, 2 Chr. xxvi. 5; 1 Sam. xiv. 21. Such is the ancient usage of the phrase, the *later* introduced the omission of the הָיָה, of which we have *nowhere* in the Pentateuch an instance. For the passage, Deut. iv. 2, does not belong to this; the לִשְׁמֹר in it may be most simply construed thus: In

1 Exactly as in Is. iii. 9. Comp. Hitzig, Com. s. 36. [There seems some confusion here. I can find no instance in Gen. xix. 19 of the infin. ending in ת. The word used in Amos. iv. 11 is מהצלת, which verb occurs in Gen. xix. 21, 25; but there, in the former verse, in the regular inf. in Kal with the suffix of the first pers. sing., in the latter in the third pers. singular fut. In fine, it is in Is. xiii. 19, and not iii. 9, that the parallel usage to that in Amos occurs.—Tr.]

2 In the Syr. they merely say ܡܢ—ܕܡܢ (Hoffm. Gr. Syr. p. 381), in the Ar. مِن—والي (Hamacker, Inc. Auc. De Memph. expug. p. 60.)

the observance of the Law ye shall add nothing thereto, nor take thencefrom.[1]—"נָתַן with לִפְנֵי in place of לְ, Deut. iv. 8, xi. 32, xxxi. 5, a transition to the Chal. קֳדָם." On the contrary, see only such passages as Gen. xliii. 14; Exod. iii. 21.—"The frequent use of the participles with pronomm. separatis, in place of the finite tenses." But this indicates a misunderstanding of the meaning of the participial construction, which is distinguished in meaning, as is well known, from the other tenses.—"The לְ as a mark of the accusative—a decisive indication of a later age." But the construction of the Hiphil forms with לְ, which Hartmann cites in illustration of this (s. 663), does not apply here; comp. Ewald, Kr. Gr. s. 594; Hitzig on Is. 142. As little does the combination of אָהַב with לְ, Lev. xix. 18, 34, where לְ stands more emphatically than the simple object: to turn love upon any one (hence appropriately with כָּמוֹךָ), as the verb may also be construed with בְּ.—"The pron. separ. in the nominative with another pronoun for the oblique case, Deut. v. 3." This, however, occurs exactly in the same way, Gen. xxvii. 34.—"לְ as a sign of the nominative, Deut. xxiv. 5." A grammatical whim in which no thorough philologist now shares! See Maurer, Comment. z. B. Jos. s. 114.

After having thus undertaken the analysis of what has in a linguistic point of view been advanced against this the most violently assailed book of the Pentateuch, we may safely omit the refutation of what remains. For not only have we here only similar proofs of "a late usage of the language" adduced (Hartmann, s. 667, ff.), but they are even much more mere deaf nuts than the preceding. The most perverted part of these attempts is the treatment of the *poetical* portions of the Pentateuch (s. 664, ff.), in such a way as pays not the least regard to the nature of poetry and its unusual forms! The result of the whole is to establish the unity of character of the language of the Pentateuch, and to present this as the principle of the whole subsequent literature.

§ 32. B.—POST-MOSAIC PERIOD.—AGE OF DAVID AND SOLOMON.

The entrance of the Hebrews into Palestine, and the new rela-

[1] In a similar way it appears to me also Is. xliv. 14 is to be construed.

tions surrounding them there, must have exercised an influence on their language, which must have displayed itself partly in the enriching of it with new expressions, partly in the rendering obsolete of old ones; comp. Eichhorn, Einl. I. s. 73, ff. This is apparent in the appellation of many objects of natural history peculiar to Palestine, as well as in the names which arose from the new necessities of life and the worship established. Thus there appeared for the first time then the names בְּרוֹשׁ, fir tree; the serpent names, צְפְעֹנִי, אֶפְעֶה, אֶפְעֹנִי. For עֹבֵד אֲדָמָה, husbandman, the later usage was אִכָּר; for חֶרְמֵשׁ, sickle, מַגָּל; for חֵמֶת, a shin, נאד. The old names מַסְוֶה, veil, כּוּמָז, an ancient simple necklace (Exod. xxxv. 22; Num. xxxi. 50. Comp. Diod. Sic. III. 45), fell out of use. Other expressions were altered for the most part to denote more precisely the peculiarity of an object, as *e. gr.* in place of the simple but easily misunderstood הִתְיַלֵּד, natales suos profiteri (Num. i. 18), the later usage was מָנָה, or more strictly סָפַר, *ἀπογράφεσθαι*,[1] and still later הִתְיַחֵשׂ (see on this word Kleinert, üb. d. Aechth. d. Jes. I. 90); the standing expression עִנָּה נֶפֶשׁ in the Pentateuch remained only in poetry (Ps. xxxv. 13; Is. lviii. 3, 5, 10), to which properly this mode of speech belongs, and was superseded by צוּם, which the ancient language did not know,[2] &c.

The book of Joshua, which contains records cotemporary with the events, stands most closely allied to the Pentateuch in a linguistic respect; and this holds not only of particular books of the Peutateuch, but of the whole. Such allied words are, *e. gr.* נָלוֹן, to rebel, ix. 18; זָנַב, to smite the rear, x. 19; אִשֶּׁה, burning, an offering, xiii. 14; מַחֲצִית, half, xxi. 25; phrases like מִלֵּא אַחֲרֵי

1 Like the Arab. كَتَبَ, cf. Michaelis, de censibus Hebr., Comment. A. 1758, p. 19.

2 It is an utter perversion when Credner, Joel, s. 140, persists in regarding the expression of the Pentateuch as the later; for the reason alleged against it, that it indicates an abuse of the rites of faith, and consequently belongs to the period when the Prophets admonished the people not to deceive themselves with false conceits, as if all that was required of them was summed up in the observance of outward usages, is opposed to Credner's own view. For in this case the expression must have occurred chiefly in the Prophets, with whom it does not occur at all! And why must not the Mosaic law also have set forth and inculcated fasting according to its internal meaning and spiritual reference?

יְהוָה, xiv. 8, 9, 14; הִשָּׁמֵר לְנַפְשֶׁךָ, xxiii. 11; אַבְנֵי שְׁלָמִים, viii. 31, comp. Deut. xxvii. 6;[1] "the sand which is on the shore of the sea," xi. 4, as in Genesis (comp. Ewald, Compos. d. Gen. s. 286), and even the construction of periods, as iv. 6, ff., 21, ff., compared with Exod. xii. 25—27. Some words, however, are in this book extended in sense; thus אַשְׁדוֹת already occurs in the wider sense of *plains*, as opposed to הָהָר, x. 40, whilst in the Pentateuch it denotes only the foot of a hill; so also the proverbial expression, "No dog points its tongue against Israel," Exod. xi. 7,[2] occurs in Joshua x. 21, without כֶּלֶב, dog; such modes of speech are usually shortened in progress of time,[3] a remark which Maurer has overlooked, and so has proposed an arbitrary emendation of the text. (Comment. s. 113.)

From the influence so beneficially exerted by the Pentateuch upon the style of the book of Joshua, we can account for the great correctness of the latter; it has a character of extraordinary fluency and ease. For the instances which have been adduced of later and corrupt style, are not such.[4] The אוֹתָם, in place of אֶתְכֶם, xxiii. 15, is in reality the original regular formation, and may consequently be properly treated as an Archaism when it occurs in later writers; אוֹתִי, in place of אֹתִי, xiv. 12 (xxii. 19 has nothing to do with this) is, as a rarity, to be found even in the oldest books, *e. gr.*, Lev. xv. 18, 24, it is only the frequent and regular exchange of the two forms that belongs to the later period. Still less to the point is the post-fixing of the numeral, which both Gesenius (Lehrg., s. 695), and even Ewald, Krit. Gr. s. 628, adduce as identifying the language of the book of Joshua with that of a later age. It is true that we have belonging to the later such a phrase as אַמּוֹת שָׁלוֹשׁ for three ells (*e. gr.* 2 Chron. vi. 13), but

1 Comp. also the Arab. سلام, a stone, a monument, in the Himyaritic dialect. Comp. Lebid. Moall. 2. Peiper de Leb. Moall. p 73.

2 On the expression רֹדֵד לָשׁוֹן see Schultens ad Prov. p. 250, sq. Also in Latin they said, though in a good sense, acuere linguam (exercitatione dicendi) Cic. Brut. 97, and for that also procedere linguam, de Orat. III. 30.

3 Just like the Latin gnomes fortuna fortes (sc. adjuvat) Cic. de fin. 3, 4, 16, mehercle currentem (sc. incitas) ad Qu. fr. II. 15, sus Minervam (sc. docet) Acadd. I. 4, cf. Beier ad Cic. de Offic. III. 33, 116.

4 Maurer Lib. cit. s. XVIII., Hirzel, De Chald. Bibl. indole, p. 7, De Wette, Einl. s. 219.

such occur in Joshua only in stating the sum of a number as xii. 24, כָּל־מְלָכִים שְׁלֹשִׁים וְאֶחָד, "the sum of the kings amounted to thirty-one," which could not be otherwise expressed. Whether נֶכֶס be a later word, cannot be determined from its reappearing in very late writings; as respects its formation and derivation, it is good Hebrew. הִשְׂכִּיל, i. 7, 8, does not mean, as has been assumed, *to be prosperous*, but to *act wisely*. הַמְכִסִין, xiv. 8, is not a late but the most ancient form, Ewald, s. 422. The article, as a relative, x. 24, stands so in other ancient writings; see Kleinert üb. die Aechth. d. Jes. s. 219.

In the modes of expression used in this book there is much that is peculiar and antique, and which consequently illustrates still more the peculiar character of the language of its age; such as the old form הֲלִכְנוּא x. 24 (see on this Ewald, s. 265; Hirzel l cit.), elsewhere used only by the poets, רְאִישׁוֹן, xxi. 10, Ewald, s. 496; the verbs הִצְטַיֵּד, ix. 4, to set out on a journey, and צִיְּדָה, ix. 12, to provide food; the expression גֶּדֶד, bank, iii. 15, iv. 18, with which latter passage may be compared that in Isa. viii. 7, probably borrowed from it. Not seldom also the language of this book has what has been but too little noticed, a *poetic* character, such as is to be found only in such elevated prose as occurs in the Pentateuch. Under this may be ranked the following: הֶזַק וְאֶמָץ אַל־תַּעֲרֹץ וְאַל־תֵּחַת, i. 9, and similar turns in i. 6, 18, viii. 1, x. 25;[1] נָפְלָה אֵימָתְכֶם, your fear fell, &c., ii. 9 (comp. Gen. xv. 12; Exod. xxiii. 27); נָמֹגוּ כָל־יוֹשְׁבֵי הָאָרֶץ, ii. 9 (comp. Exod. xv. 15), a bold description of terror; in prose elsewhere נָמוֹג means to be dispersed, 1 Sam. xiv. 16; the Paronomasia of אָרוֹן and אָדוֹן, iii. 11, 13; נָתְקוּ, iv. 18, comp. Job xviii. 14; often the expression is very concise, and hence obscure as v. 9, הַיּוֹם גַּלּוֹתִי חֶרְפַּת מִצְרַיִם מֵעֲלֵיכֶם and v. 13, הֲלָנוּ אַתָּה אִם לְצָרֵינוּ. So also the תִּקְעוּ הַשּׁוֹפָרוֹת, vi. 9, is to be understood, where Maurer and others prefer without reason the simpler Keri הִתְקִעוּ. Genuinely

1 Comp. the altogether similar لا تهلك اسي وتجلد. Tarafa Moall, vs. 2, Amrulk. Moall. 3.

poetic is the ancient formula of cursing, vi. 26, with which may be compared later similar utterances, such as *e. gr.*, 1 Sam. xiv. 24. Peculiar also to this time, and here for the first time apparent, are certain military terms, the rise of which is easily explained, by the warlike circumstances of that epoch. To this belong the very frequently occurring חֲמֻשִׁים and חֲלֻצִים, further, גִּבּוֹרֵי חַיִל, warlike troops, i. 15. vi. 1, viii, 3, x. 7;[1] for this the Pentateuch uses the circumlocution כָּל־יוֹצֵא צָבָא, Num. i. 3, 22, 26, 28, xxvi. 2, &c.; the word כִּידוֹן, viii. 18, 26, an ancient, probably foreign, weapon (either a lance or javelin), in place of which other weapons and names were used later, &c.

This epoch, however, was too warlike in its character, and that immediately succeeding it had too little of a theocratic character, for literary efforts to flourish. It was during it that the poetic period which soon after followed, and which reached its highest point of excellence in the age of David and Solomon, was preparing. Several circumstances conspired to give this such an impulse as it never again experienced. For one thing, the age of heroes and heroic deeds had passed; a milder state of things had succeeded, and such as was favourable for the appearance of an era of song. This, however, would never have taken the direction it did —the poetry would have been merely secular, and would have had nothing to do with the service of the Theocracy, had not a newly-awakened life arisen in the midst of it: of this life, of the deeply religious character of this period, the fulness and the wealth is its poetry. The principal care of David and Solomon was the worship of God, and even among the priests there were singers, and we find families of singers constituted.[2] The Schools of the Prophets founded by Samuel during this period were also, at least in part, of service to poetry: with song and instrumental music they recited their sacred hymns. (1 Sam. x. 5; xix. 19, 20.)[3]

The simple and elevated poetry of the Pentateuch is excelled by

1 Thus at a later period in the heroic age, the גִּבּוֹר חַיִל came to mean a hero—the صنديد of the Arabs—and this again passed at a later period into a laxer use. Comp. Gesenius Thes., p. 262.

2 See the excellent remarks of Movers in his Krit. Untersuch, üb d. Bibl. Chron. s. 109, ff., and 279, ff.

3 See Tholuck's Lit. Anz., 1831. No. 5, s. 73 ff.

the war-song of Deborah (Judges v.), undoubtedly the oldest of this period; but the *transition* from this period to that of David in a linguistic respect is furnished by the profoundly interesting book of Job. There is no mistaking the influence which this has exerted upon the subsequent poetry. It appears especially in the Proverbs and the Psalms, in the former chiefly from the language, in the latter from the thoughts.[1] This might lead to the supposition that the book of Job is itself the one which imitates, and consequently that it is of later date. But, not to insist upon other reasons, which will be stated in their proper place, there are linguistic grounds against this: 1. The style has throughout not the fluent, rounded, and polished character of the later poetry; on the contrary, it is as abrupt and bold in form as the earlier and older poetic pieces of the Pentateuch: 2. This book contains a multitude of expressions and turns entirely its own, the peculiarity of which conducts us to a period when the language must have been handled quite independently; but this is not the character of the later period which imitates the older models. Thus, *e.gr.*, חֹרָה (Pual), iii. 2; אָז appended to the verb, iii. 13; שֶׁמֶץ, *nestling*, iv. 12; xxvi. 14, (this word does not occur thus even in any of the dialects); תְּהָלָה, iv. 18; כִּבֵּשׁ, v. 14; כָּלַח, v. 26; xxx. 2; כַּעַשׂ constantly in Job, elsewhere equally constantly כָּעַס and כַּעַס, the former, however, is the original; שׁוּעַ, *wealth*, xxxvi. 19; נָרַע, *to sip*, xv. 8; עִקֵּב, xxxvi. 4; שָׁבַר חֹק, to set forward, xxxviii. 10; חָבַשׁ, in the tropical sense, xxxiv. 17; xl. 13, &c. 3. There is more of the Aramaic usage than in the later period, in which a purer Hebrew occurs. In this respect Job's language stands on a par with that of Judges v., see on it § 30, comp. also § 29. Under this head may be ranked the following:—מִלִּין, a very frequent plural, רִישׁוֹן (רִאשׁוֹן), viii. 8; רִים for רְאֵם, xxxix. 9;[2] מוֹרָה, סִנּוֹן, xxxvi. 22; קְנֵצֵי for קְצֵי, xviii. 1; שְׁהַד, שָׂהֵד, xvi. 19 (comp. Gen. xxxi. 47, &c.[3]) These Aramaisms must be

1 See the collection of analogies in Michaelis, Einl. I., 92, ff. Gesenius, Gesch., s. 33, ff. Rosenmüller, Scholl. in Job, p. 32, sq.

2 See more such defective forms in Michaelis, l. cit., s. 109.

3 The collections of Bernstein, Annal. v. Keil u. Tzschirner I. 3, s. 49, ff. Gesenius, Gesch., s. 34, ff. stand very much in need of being sifted, as in them sometimes good

explained in the same way as the peculiarities first named; the latter are illustrated chiefly from the Arabic as the dialect containing the most copious store of words, and in like manner must the former from the Aramaic; but to conclude hence either that the one is the product of Arabic authorship,[1] or is drawn from an Arabic original, or that the other belongs to a later period, would be one-sided and erroneous. "The more elevated the poetry which a book contains, and the older it is," as Michaelis justly remarks, lib. cit., s. 107, "the more frequently will this be the case; consequently in Job, where both these reasons unite, it is very common." In support of this may be adduced the circumstance, hitherto too much overlooked, that these Aramaisms of the book of Job are exactly such as essentially differ from the degenerate character of the later Aramaic, and thereby prove its antiquity and originality. Thus עֵרִיד occurs in its strong sense of *skilful*, iii. 8, *equipped*, xv. 23, whilst in the Aramaic, on the other hand, we find it quite weakened (like μέλλων followed by the infin.,) Hoffmann Gr. Syr. p. 342, my Comment. on Daniel, s. 114; מְלַל in its original distinction from דִּבֵּר, the former in the bad, the latter in the good sense (*to tattle—to discourse*), viii. 2, exactly as in Gen. xxi. 7; instead of the later בְּשַׁלְוָה (*suddenly*, see my Comment., s. 307, ff.) Job says more emphatically בַּשַּׁלּוֹם, xv. 21. לֹא בְיַד *without human agency*, xxxiv. 20, more feebly the later בְּאֶפֶס יָד, Dan. viii. 25, and דִּי לָא בִידִין, Dan. ii. 34, 35 (see my remarks on these passages.) This book also gave rise to later sentences, as *e. gr.* (of God), who saith to him, What doest thou? (ix. 12, xxi. 22), comp. 2 Sam. xvi. 10; Is. xlv. 9; Dan. iv. 32; Eccl. viii. 4.

More cultivated and more purely grounded in the Hebrew appears the poetry of the age of David; the language is here classically pure, the parallelism more carefully attended to, the expression less at variance with the form. By far the greater number of the Psalms belong-

Hebrew is adduced for an Aramaism, and sometimes things are adduced that have no reference to the subject (*e. gr.*, עָנָה for *to begin discourse*.)

1 As Kromayer, de usu ling. Arabicae in addiscenda Ebraea, and others do. The hypothesis of Arabic ingredients has been adopted by Jerome (Jobum cum Arabica lingua plurimam habere societatem. *Praef. in Daniel*, Schultens, Praef. Comm. in Job., Wahl, Allg. Gesch. d. morgenl. Sprachen, s. 428, Ilgen, Jobi ant. carm. Hebr. natura et virtus, p. 18 sq., &c.

ing to this period (on those written during the captivity see under) are written in an easy and flowing style; the simple object, the inartificial outpouring of the heart to God in prayer, brought with it that more facile lyric strain which belongs to the language of these psalms; but especially the liturgic intention of them had this effect, for it was needful on this account to take great care in respect of the expression lest they should fail of being a common good to the multitude. "In this moderation of sentiment," as Cramer remarks not badly, Psalmen IV. s. 285, "the great *simplicity* and *naturalness* of the style of the Psalm has its basis, which almost throughout appears to be rather western than oriental, and never elevates itself to the boldness, or, if a stronger expression be desired, to the noble temerity which astonishes us in other poetical parts of Scripture, as in Moses, Job, and Isaiah.—David is satisfied when all his words are noble, when they are emphatic enough and suited to his sentiments; his language is not without its ornature; but the colours are rather lively and light than strong and striking." Only now and then we find a tendency towards earlier and unusual expressions, as *e. gr.* the שׁ praef., as in the Song of Deborah, so also in certain Songs of David (Ps. cxxii., cxxiv.) In general, however, marked Aramaisms are here great rarities, as Ps. ii. 12, בַּר; xvi. 6, שָׁפַר עַל (delectari aliqua re, comp. Dan. iv. 24), instead of the Heb. "יָטַב בְּעֵינֵי פ; lxi. 8, יְנַצְּרֵהוּ; lxiii. 4; cxliv. 4, שְׁבַח, instead of הָלַל; cxxiv. 3, 4, 5. אֲדַיִן, an ancient form used emphatically,[1] which reminds of the Chald. אֱדַיִן; cxxxix. 8, נָסַק for עָלָה. A certain artificialness is found in the alphabetical form of some Psalms; still the freedom which the poets allow themselves in respect of this shows how little they were dependent upon it (see De Wette, Psalm Einl. s. 65, ff.) In the progressive rythm, also so beautifully exhibited in some Psalms (see *e. gr.* Ps. cxxi.) there is an advance as respects the cultivation of the form (De Wette, s. 68, ff.)

To the same category belong the writings also of Solomon. As under David the practical want, that of a temple-poetry, was satisfied, so under and through Solomon, poetry received a new culture,

1 Clarisse, on this passage, says justly: "Forma haec vehementem, quo poëtae animus commovebatur, affectum ostendit.

which called forth new kinds of it; corresponding to the mutual relations of the two rulers, the former of whom devoted himself chiefly to the inner essence, the latter to the outward form and significance of the Theocracy. Solomon's far-famed wisdom appears chiefly in his poetical performances; to him especially is ascribed the composition of Maschals and larger poems,[1] 1 Chron. v. 12. The progress of poetry is thereby distinctly indicated, for there is not only the cessation of the ancient, original, and close conjunction of the singer and poet, but also the cultivation of a new kind of poetry. In the writings of Solomon (Proverbs and Canticles) there is found on this account a very distinctly pronounced character; which, especially in a linguistic respect, is peculiar and noticeable. In this both the works of Solomon which we possess strikingly agree, whilst there is much that is clearly peculiar to each, the pieces as respects their subject being very different. In the latter respect the following are especially to be noticed in the Proverbs:—מוּסָר, as applied to wisdom in its negative reference to the sins of men, which are by it denounced (comp. i. 2, iv. 13, vi. 23, xxiii. 23); the favourite expression לֶקַח (traditional) doctrine; i. 5, iv. 2, vii. 21, 23, ix. 9.—The form לְוִיָה, Crown i. 9, iv. 9, the later word for this (at least one used in a similar sense) is לִיָה and לְוָיָה; the form and the expression הוֹמִיָה, vii. 11, ix. 13; and הוֹמִיּוֹת, i. 25 (for the latter the later usage is the corrupt הֲמוֹת, Ez. vii. 16)—תַּהְפֻּכוֹת, ii. 11, 14, vi. 14, xvi. 28, xxiii. 33; elsewhere only once in the oldest poetry, Deut. xxxii. 20—חָרוּץ in the tropical sense of *diligent* (comp. ὀξύς) only in the Proverbs. In like manner, the words expressive of the opposite conception, עָקֵשׁ, עֲקַלָּה, עֲקַלְקַלּוֹת, לוּז—עַצְלָה, נָלוֹז, to deviate, perverted, ii. 14, iii. 21, 32, iv. 21, xiv. 2 (elsewhere only once, Is. xxx. 12.)—פָּרַע, in the older usage of the Pentateuch, almost throughout employed in the primitive physical signification of *to uncover*, is in Proverbs with equal constancy used in the

[1] The שִׁיר is used for longer and continuous poetical compositions, and is distinguished thus not only from the מִזְמוֹר, or a song to be accompanied by instruments, but also from the מָשָׁל, as a *dictum breve*, (قول موجز as also the Arabs explain their مثل) from a longer poem. שִׁיר = שׁוּר prop. *a row*, then a *section* (of the Coran.)

transferred sense of *to reject, to neglect*, i. 25, iv. 15, viii. 33, xiii. 8, xv. 32.—שָׁטָה, to commit a fault, in the Pentateuch specially used in reference to adultery, in the Proverbs always in a wider acceptation. The phrase שִׁלַּח מָדוֹן, to excite a quarrel, vi. 14, 19, xvi. 28; גֵּרָה מָדוֹן, in the same sense, xv. 18, xxviii. 25, xxviii. 22. In the substantive, the peculiar variety of the plural formation is to be noted: מְדָנִים, מְדוֹנִים, מְדְיָנִים, comp. Ewald, Gram, d. Heb. Spr. s. 206, 2te Ausg. The phrase, "the lamp, the light of any one is extinguished," for "he perishes," xiii. 9, xx. 20, xxxi. 18.—חֲסַר לֵב, *vecors*, vi. 32, vii. 7, also *vecordia*, x. 21.—הֵעֵז פָּנִים, to harden the face, to assume a daring mien, vii. 13, xxi. 29.—מֵבִישׁ, in the absolute sense, x. 5, xiv. 35, xvii. 2, xix. 26, &c.—חָשַׂךְ, to be niggard, xi. 24, xxi. 26.—עַד אַרְגִּיעָה, xii. 19, instead of the usual עֶרֶגַע or בְּרֶגַע, for which also later but corrupt came simply, אַרְגִּיעָה, Jerm. xlix. 19.—מַעֲנָה, like the Arab. عنى, design, xvi. 4.—הִתְגַּלַּע, to fall out with one, xvii. 14, xviii. 1, xx. 3.—תָּקַע כַּף, to strike hands, for the sake of support = עָרַב (likewise very common), see vi. 1, xi. 15, xvii. 18, xxii. 26.—מַהֲלֻמוֹת, strokes, xviii. 6, xix. 29.—מִתְהֲלְלֵיהֶם, junkets, xviii. 8, xxvi. 22; later מַעֲדַנּוֹת, Jerm. li. 34; Lam. iv. 5.—דֶּלֶף טֹרֵד, a constant guttur, xix. 13, xxvii. 15.—אִישׁוֹן לַיְלָה and אוֹ״ חָשְׁכָה, *media nox*, the thickest darkness, vii. 9, xx. 20. So with equal peculiarity the opposite idea, בְּנוֹן הַיּוֹם, midday, iv. 18.—שׁוֹנִים, rebels (qui animum commutarunt), xxiv. 21.—עַל אָפְנָיו, tempore opportuno, xxv. 11.—נִרְגָּן, tell-tale, xvi. 28, xxvi. 20.—פַּנַּק, to pamper, xxix. 21.—The ἅπαξ λεγ. אַו, xxxi. 4, *desiderium*.[1]—שְׁפַל־רוּחַ, humble, xvi. 19, xxix. 23.—דָּרַשׁ, frequently in the tropical sense, as vi. 14, xii. 20, xiv. 22.—תָּפַשׂ שֵׁם יְהוָה (to commit treason against the name of Jehovah) an abbreviated expression in place of the ancient נָשָׂא לַשָּׁוְא, Exod. xx.

1 This word, regularly formed from אָוָה, is explainable from the particular linguistic usage of the Proverbs, and there is not the least need for thinking of a correction of it (see Gesenius, Thes., p. 37, 78; Köster, Erläuter, s. 193.)

7, and poetical for the prosaic חִלֵּל שֵׁא יְהוָה, Lev. xix. 12.[1]—הַפָּרֵד and נִפְרַד, forsaken of his friends, left to himself, xviii. 1, xix 4.

In Canticles also many peculiarities occur,[2] even more so than in the Proverbs, which is to be explained from the singularity of its subject, and the more poetical and ornamented treatment it receives. In this poem, we find the use of the שׁ praef., to the entire exclusion of the אֲשֶׁר, and in altogether peculiar combinations, as in the constant שֶׁלִּי. But all poetical pieces exhibit the tendency to avoid this prosaic אֲשֶׁר, and it is only an indication of the higher poetic form when we find it avoided in the Canticles.[3] Peculiar likewise is the often used רַעְיָה (see Ewald, s. 237, 2te Ausg.), for which other writers use רֵעוֹת, or sometimes also רֵעָה (Ps. xlv. 15); the expression עֹפֶר, a young one, ii. 9, 17, &c., כֹּפֶר, the Alhenna of the Arabs, i. 14, iv. 13, vii. 12. רָחִיטִים, i. 17; קָפַץ, to spring, to skip, ii. 8 (see Ewald Comment., s. 82); סְתָו, winter, ii. 11; סְמָדַר, blossom, ii. 13, 15, vii. 12. מִדְבָּר, organ of speech, the mouth, iv. 3, &c. Also the peculiar phrases גָּלַשׁ מִן, to lie down, used of animals, iv. 1, vi. 5, for which elsewhere we have נוּחַ, Exod. x. 14.—עַד־כְּמַעֲטשׁ, scarcely had I—until, iii. 4, quite an unusual construction, and as daring as the combination מִבְעַד = מִסָּבִיב (Deut. xii. 10), iv. 1, 3, vi. 4.

It must not be overlooked here, that between both books there is a remarkable analogy of usage which, considering the difference of the subjects, and the limited extent of the Canticles, is the more to be noticed. It will not do to take up these peculiarities apart and one sidedly, as is often done; they must rather be regarded as marking a special Solomonic usage. For we cannot regard the analogies as accidental, as they are alone of their kind and too numerous; and imitation[4] on either side is excluded by the inde-

1 In exactly the same way the Arabs used their اخذ sensu malo, cf. Freytag, s. v.

2 Comp Ewald, Hohelied Salomo's, s. 10, ff.

3 From exactly the same circumstances are we to explain the altogether analagous case that Jeremiah employs the ש praef. only in Lamentations (ii. 18, iv. 9), and nowhere else.

4 As is certainly the case with Ecclesiastes; see under.

pendant dignity of the poetry in both. Specially allied are the figures, Cant. vi. 4, 11, and Prov. vii. 23, 26; Cant. vii. 6; Prov. vi. 25. Even in expressions they are sometimes parallel to each other; comp. Prov. v. 3, נֹפֶת תִּטֹּפְנָה שִׂפְתֵי זָרָה, and Cant. iv. 11, נֹפֶת תִּטֹּפְנָה שִׂפְתוֹתַיִךְ,[1] where also the expression נֹפֶת is to be noticed, which occurs thus also in Prov. xxvi. 13, elsewhere more fully נֹפֶת צוּפִים, Ps. xix. 11; שׁוּק, street instead of רְחוֹב, comp. Prov. vii. 8; Cant. iii. 2; later only in the Aramaic. Genuinely Solomonic are the combinations of מֹר עֲלָהִים יִקְנָמוֹן, Prov. vii. 17; Cant. iv. 14. The phrase רָוָה דֹדִים, to satiate oneself with love, Prov. vii. 18, reminds us entirely of שִׁכְרִי דוֹדִים, to drink abundantly of love, Cant. v. 1, particularly from the peculiar usage of the plural of דּוֹד (see thereon Ewald, s. 225, 2te Ausg.) In the same sense חָרַר is used Prov. xxvi. 21, and Cant. i. 5; also the נָשִׁיקוֹת, Cant. i. 2, is found besides only in Prov. xxvii. 6. Of הֲרַכִּים, Cant. ii. 9, the root חָרַךְ occurs Prov. xii. 27. Of importance also are the same tropical usage of מֵעַיִן of the conjugal relation, Prov. v. 16; Cant. iv. 15; חֵךְ, palate, used metonymically of speech, Cant. v. 16, Prov. viii. 7; רָהַב, in a like sense, Prov. vi. 3; Cant. vi. 5. The word חֲלִי, broach, is used only by Solomon, Prov. xxv. 6; Cant. vii. 2; already Hosea has for it the form חֲלָיָה, vii. 15. Very close is the resemblance of the phrases for wine softly gliding down, Cant. vii. 10 [9], הוֹלֵךְ לְמֵישָׁרִים, and Prov. xxiii. 31, יִתְהַלֵּךְ בְּמֵישָׁרִים. Worthy of notice also is the usage of דּוֹן (for which Job also has אוֹן, xx. 10); the common expression for עֹשֶׁר in Proverbs (i. 13, iii. 9, vi. 31, xii. 27, xxviii. 22, xxx. 16), also Cant. viii. 7; later there came into use in place of it the plural הוֹנִים (Ez. xxvii. 33), comp. ops, opes. Cant. viii. 6, we have "Bear me as a signet ring on thy breast, like a signet ring on thy arm," for keep me as the most precious treasure; and exactly the same expression is found (retaining even the peculiar עַל-לִבֶּךָ) Prov. iii. 3, vi. 21, vii. 3.

1 The meaning here is also in both cases the same; the allusion is to sweetness of speech; comp. Cant. ii. 14, v. 13, 16. Others erroneously explain it of kisses (v. Kooten, Döpke.)

2 Umbreit quite erroneously understands this of an amulet or talisman (on Pr. s. 23); such a figure could hardly have been borrowed from this, as it was viewed by the Hebrews

Whilst the poetical books now before us thus present themselves as having, each in its own kind, peculiar linguistic phenomena, it must nevertheless, on the other hand, be acknowledged that, as already intimated, these three chief classes, the book of Job, the Davidic poems, and the Solomonic, again accord in many things, whereby they are proved to belong to one common period. The Lexicons have taken but too little notice of the linguistic treasures of this period, and hence a survey of the principal of these may be here given.—The plurals חָכְמוֹת, the sum of Wisdom, and תְּבוּנוֹת are found only in Job, Psalms, and Proverbs.[1]—תּוֹכַחַת, instruction, admonition, very frequently.—נָבַע and הַבְּיִעַ, fountains, in the tropical sense especially Psalms and Proverbs.—שָׁחַר for דָּרַשׁ, eagerly to seek,[2] Job, Psalms, and Proverbs.—פֶּתִי, the door, often in the Psalms and Proverbs, later it occurs once, but in a different sense, Ez. xlv. 20.—תּוּשִׁיָּה, the true *welfare* of the wise and good (allied to יֵשַׁע), comp. Bernstein, Anal. l. c. s. 54, ff. Umbreit, Sprüchw. s. LIII.—נָסַח, comp. Prov. ii. 22, xv. 25; Ps. lii. 7. Elsewhere instead of this the allied form נָדַח is in use. Very common are נָעַם and its derivatives נַעַם, נְעִים, with which also is to be joined the proper name נָעֳמִי in the book of Ruth (a name in use also in the Arabic; Schultens, Monum. p. 12.) אִישׁ חָמָס— very often in the Psalms and Proverbs, comp. Umbreit l. cit. 8, s. 41.—מְזִמָּה often in the same; at a later period it

in the light of a heathen usage, comp. Is. iii. 20. On this ground even Muhammed forbade some at least of the amulets used before his time (see *e. gr.* Amrulkeis Moall. v. 14, ibiq. Hengstenberg, p. 35), comp. Schroeder de vestitu mulierum Heb. p. 175, Freytag, Lex. Arab. I. 199. To this rendering the passage in Cant. is clearly opposed in which a parallel is evidently constructed, and even Prov. vii. 3 itself, where the עַל־אֶצְבְּעוֹתֶיךָ can be understood only of a signet ring. Comp. also Genes. xxxviii. 8; Jer. xxxi. 33.

1 These are the *strongest* abstract forms of the language; see Ewald, Kr. Gr. s. 327. There seems no ground, then, for Ewald's notion (Gr. s. 212, ff., 2te Ausg.) that this וֹת is to be viewed as a variety of the singular-ending וּת; a notion to which the context of תְּבוּנוֹת, Ps. xlix. 4, and passages such as Prov. xxiv. 7, are quite opposed. Ewald's explanation of the latter paragraph is unsatisfactory.

2 Some, as even Umbreit, Sprüche, s. 12, incorrectly derive this from שַׁחַר, the dawn, consequently "to seek something in the twilight" (sic!) It is an incorrect assumption that no trace of the meaning assigned to this word is to be found in the dialects (even Winer falls into this, Lex. p. 967.) The ground meaning is found in the Arabic شَحَرَ, prop. to split, to portion, hence, metonymically, strictly to examine; comp. Rödiger, Glossar. ad Loomanni Fab. p. 27.

comes into use from imitation of the earlier in Jeremiah.—הַבָּיִת, הָמָס and כְּזָבִים, to breathe out lies, violence, &c., comp. Prov. vi. 19, ix. [xix. ?] 5, xiv. 5, Ps. xlvii. [xxvii.] 12.—עָנַד, to bind, only in Prov. vi. 21, Job xxxi. 36.—שְׁזִית, a showy, meretricious dress, Prov. vii. 10; Ps. lxxiii. 6.—כֶּסֶא, the full moon, Prov. vii. 20; Ps. lxxxi. 4.—תּוּגָה, trouble, only Psalms and Proverbs.—פָּזַר, to be beneficent, literal.—בַּעַר, stupidus, Psalms and Proverbs.—אַבְדוֹן, Job xxvi. 6, xxxi. 12; Prov. xv. 11 (comp. xxvii. 20.)—אָבַק, Prov. xvi. 26.—אֶבֶק, Job xxxiii. 7.—מַשְׁכִּית, opinio, consilium, Prov. xviii. 11; Ps. lxxiii. 7.—עֶקֶב, the consequence, reward, Prov. xxi. 4; Ps. xix. 12.—פִּיד, to decay, Proverbs and Job.—שַׁחַל, the roaring lion, Job and Proverbs.—רוּן, to conquer, Prov. xxix. 6; Ps. lxxviii. 65.—תָּבֻרִים, Prov. xxix. 13. תּוֹךְ in the Psalms.—סְלֶה and סֶלָה[1] in Job and Proverbs. Even entire phrases are analogous, such as גַּל אֶל יְהוָה, Prov. xvi. 3; Ps. xxii. 9, xxxvii. 5; לֹא תְאֻנֶּה אֵלֶיךָ רָעָה, Ps. xci. 10; and לֹא יְאֻנֶּה לַצַּדִּיק אָוֶן, Prov. xii. 21. In exact accordance with this is the character of Canticles, where such analogies are to be found abundantly; *e. gr.* the use of מֵישָׁרִים as an adverb, Cant. i. 4; Ps. lxxv. 3.—דָּגַל, verb. denomin. from דֶּגֶל, Ps. xx. 6; Cant. v. 11, vi. 4, 10.—רִפֵּד, Job xvii. 13; Cant. ii. 5; רְפִידָה, Cant. iii. 10, cll. Job xli. 22. שָׁזַף, to look, in Canticles and Job; in the latter especially, *to spy out*;[2] גִּלְבֵב, to take heart, courage, Job xi. 12; so also לִבֵּב, Cant. iv. 9 (comp. Döpke, Com. s. 140), &c.

From the adduced relations it must be abundantly clear why in the Proverbs, as well as in Psalms, such harsh Aramaisms as

1 In the Pentateuch this word is used in a narrower and more definite sense, Exod. xxiii. 8; Deut. xvi. 19. The word means in general *to smooth*, = חָלַק, and hence *to pervert, corrupt*. The ground-meaning appears most Prov. xix. 3, and xiii. 6, which latter passage is to be translated: ungodliness smooths sin, *i.e.* makes it easy. The Arabic سَلَفَ is instructive here; its meanings thus hang together: 1, to smooth or polish (to rub something with oil); 2, intrans. *to glide* over; 3, *to go off*, to hasten on before.

2 The שָׁדַף of Genesis (xli. 6, 23, 27), in the sense of *to singe*, and the שָׁצַף of Isaiah (liv. 8), *to be sour* (see Hitzig, Comment. s. 581), stand connected with this word. The ground meaning is *to press*, to *squeeze*, to be sharply directed on anything, as the Arabic forms شَزَبَ, شَصَبَ, شَطَفَ, teach.

occur in the preceding book of Job are avoided; such are to be regarded as exceptions here in the strictest sense of the word (*e. gr.* v. 2, xxxi. 2, 3, comp. Hirzel, l. cit., p. 9.) On the other hand, Canticles contain somewhat more of these; *e. gr.* לָכִי, שֶׁלִּי for לָךְ, ii. 13; בְּרוֹת for בְּרוֹשׁ, i. 17; נָצַר for נָצָר. But we may safely ascribe this to the more highly poetical character of this book, which brings it nearer to the bolder style of Job. It is also to be observed that the Aramaic tinge here is not the later and corrupt, but (exactly as in Job) that which constitutes the effective and powerful element in poetry. Thus שַׁלָּמָה, i. 7, stands not for the simple *in order that not perhaps*, like the ܕܠܡܐ in Syriac, but in its ground-meaning *for why?* So the שֶׁלִּי does not form a mere paraphrase of the possess. pron., but is always emphatic—*mine own*, &c. Comp. the admirable remarks of Ewald, Comment. s. 19, ff. The hypothesis which ascribes a later origin to the book for this reason misapprehends the entire essence of the poem; it would be worthy of consideration only if there were Parsisms and Grecisms here, an assumption we have already rejected.[1]

Of the historical books belonging to this period (Judges, Samuel, Ruth) the style is easy and smooth: the ancient artless method of history still subsists. In these we find, on the whole, little that is peculiar. They are distinguished also by a certain poetic tincture, by concise and energetic modes of speech, in which they harmonise partly with one another, partly with the poesies of the period; comp. *e. gr.* the phrase רוּחַ יי לָבְשָׁה וגו (Judges vi. 34), the spirit of God invested, mightily filled Gideon (imitated 1 Chr. xii. 8; 2 Chr. xxiv. 20); the more common phrase for this is וַתִּצְלַח עָלָיו רוּחַ יְהוָה, Jud. xiv. 19, xv. 14; 1 Sam. x. 11, xvi. 13, xviii. 10 (in the more ancient speech they used for this עָבַר רוּחַ וגו, cf. Num. v. 14.) The expression פָּעַם also is used of the power of the divine spirit, Judg. xiii. 25. See on this my

1 Thus, especially Hartmann, in Winer's Zeitschrift, f. Wissenschaftl. Theol. I. 3, s. 420, ff. To reckon, as is done in this essay, all the significant words of the book, the meaning of which is best elucidated from the Aramaic and Arabic, as indicating its later character, is just to put weapons into the hands of the opponent; for these prove exactly the independent and living element in that poetry. In general this attempt shows how little the linguistic character of a book can be indicated from a merely empiric apprehension of the language.

commentary on Daniel s. 43.[1] Purely poetical is שָׁסִים for אוֹיְבִים, Judg. ii. 14, and שָׁסַס, to plunder, *ibid*, and 1 Sam. xvii. 53 (for בָּזַז), comp. Ps. lxxxix. 42. The expression מָכַר, *vendere* for *tradere* (נָתַן) is properly borrowed from the old poetry (Deut. xxxii. 30), but in these books it is frequent, see Jud. ii. 14, iii. 8, iv. 2, x. 7; 1 Sam. xii. 9, and so likewise Ps. xliv. 13. Entirely poetic are such passages as Jud. xv. 16, or x. 8, ix. 48.[2] Compare further אֶמְלַל, 1 Sam. ii. 5, elsewhere only in the poets; תְּאַלְּצֵהוּ, where not only the word אָלַץ is ἅπαξ λεγ., but also the form of the suffix is poetic; צְדָקוֹת is also poetic, cf. 1 Sam. xii. 7; Jud. v. 11, and is to be coupled with the abstract formations חָכְמוֹת, &c., in the Proverbs and Psalms; גָּלָה אֹזֶן פ״ (in poetry in Job xxxiii. 10; Ps. xl. 7), Ruth iv. 4; 1 Sam. xx. 2, xii. 13, ix. 15, xxii. 8—17; 2 Sam. vii. 27; the proverbial phrase טוֹב לָךְ מֵעֲשָׂרָה בָּנִים, 1 Sam. i. 8; Ruth iv. 15. The Aramaisms also are but few in these books; what have been reckoned as such in Judges and Samuel are for the most part only older forms, which, however, have remained dismembered here, and for this reason naturally the poetical sections of these books must be considered separately; thus the word אַתְּוֵי, Judg. xvii. 2, which might most easily preserve itself in the pers. pron.; the article for the relative, Jud. xiii. 8, exactly as Josh. x. 24; so the תִּשְׁתַּכְּרִין, 1 Sam. i. 14, evidently the primary mode of formation, comp. Ewald, Krit. Gr. s. 270; so also יִשְׁרָנָה, 1 Sam. vi. 12; תִּמְצָאוּן, *ibid.* ix. 13,[3] under this head also may be reckoned unconstructed forms like יְהוֹשִׁיעַ, 1 Sam. xvii. 47; יִנְתַּן, 2 Sam. xxi. 6. To this also belong the Aramaising verbal forms of the book of Ruth, which do not at all betray the later Aramaic, but that which in the Hebrew, as well as the Aramaic, has remained as an original constituent of the language, such as תַּעֲבוּרִי, ii. 8; comp. Ex. xviii. 26. There has been here also some gross blun-

1 ["פעם is derived as a denominative from פַּעַם, the foot, apace, and hence signifies *conculcare, concutere*, as it is said of the mighty spirit of God which overcomes all obstacles, Jud. xiii. 25."—Tr.]

2 This is to be translated: What see you? I perform it, so haste now, &c.

3 Ewald says admirably, s. 144, sec. ed., that we must assume in these forms, namely, the consonant forms of the future, necessarily an original diversity. We have in the case before us exactly the oldest traces of such a distinction.

dering, such as in regard to לָהֵן, i. 12, which is not Aramaic contracted from אִם לֹא = לָא דֵין *(nisi)*, but a genuine Hebrew word connected with the pronoun (see my Comment. on Daniel. s. 62).[1]

§ 33.—C. THE OLD PROPHETIC LITERATURE.

The melancholy state of things which succeeded the reign of Solomon in consequence of the penal revolt from the royal house of David, and the internal corruption of worship and religion, produced also on the literature an effect in the highest degree injurious. Intimately associated with the Theocracy, its whole life sank with this. Whilst the kings and princes of Israel offered homage to idols, and even the Priests of Jehovah shared in the wicked tendency, there arose the Prophets as a salutary counteraction to them. Working by verbal admonition and mighty deeds, they sought first to save what was still to be saved among the impenitent populace; but as, with Israel's progressive sinfulness, the terrible judgments of God drew ever the nearer, and as the prophet's vocation had to do with the future as well as the present, the need of the written word became felt, and hence their practical activity grew to be chiefly exercised in the department of writing.[2] In consequence of this a new species of literature came into existence, which cannot in a formal respect be classed with the poetry of the immediately preceding period. The nature of the prophetic discourse is essentially more rhetorical than poetical. At times, it is true, it assumes the form of that earlier character, and this for particular reasons, comp. *e. gr.* Is. xii., Hab. iii., &c. The less, however, poetry is distinguished by a precisely defined form, so much the more may even this rhetorical form, according to the occasion or idiosyncracy of the prophet, approximate to or recede from poetry.

[1] ["This word is quite different from the Chaldaic particle לָהֵן, which is comp. of לָא, and דִּי = אִם (אִם לֹא), *unless if* (*nisi*) *however, but* (the former is a comp. of the prop. ל with the suffix). Theodoret renders by πλήν here, and the Syriac by ܐܠܐ ܕ, in accordance with which Saadias gives the meaning thus, Not I (else would ye easily discover the meaning thereof), but ye must yourselves tell the dream and then its explanation. It is more natural, however, and regular to take the word in the sense of *hence, for the reason*, as in Ruth i. 12."—TR].

[2] Comp. Hengstenberg, Christologie I. 1, s. 202: III., s. 138.

In general they approach nearest in respect of the greater formal freedom to the older Mosaic poetry, with which theirs has much that is otherwise allied,[1] and that indicates a going back to it.

In the prophetic literature, care must be taken to discriminate the age of each part. Only the earlier portions belong to the flourishing periods of the language. In these we find a markedly correct and refined style; even the Aramaic element, elsewhere appropriate to poetical compositions, appears very sparingly here; almost throughout we encounter a classically pure Hebrew. In them we possess the last monuments of the independent life of the language, which assumes at a later period a distinctly different character; the form is here in the finest correspondence with the subject, which readily and without effort finds in the free living peculiarity of a language as yet unaffected by outward influences its adequate expression.

This remark applies least to the oldest of the Prophets possessed by us. In them the language appears as yet not fully cultivated; it is not yet entirely free from Archaic unwieldiness, and tolerates harshnesses of expression. These are, however, but the transitions to the more polished diction of the immediately succeeding Prophets, and we need not be surprised to find such at the commencement of a new epoch, when that which went before was so poor in literary production. Amongst those, we reckon Hosea, Jonah, and Amos. The diction of Hosea betrays throughout its antiquity. "As young effervescing wine," says Eichhorn Einl. III., s. 290, 4te Ausg., "bursts the old bottles, so does he also the fetters of grammar. He struggles with language, and breaks it when it will not yield to the current of his thought; he despises the ordinary words, and chooses the rarest, as he cannot with the former express himself strongly enough." Hence he has peculiar constructions and combinations of words and clauses, such as the expression כְּמְרִיבֵי כֹהֵן, iv. 3, "like priest-combatants" (a brief allusion to Deut. xvii. 12), see on the construction, Ewald, Krit. Gr., s. 620; שׁוּב לֹא עַל, vii. 16, comp. xi. 7; יִתְגּוֹרָרוּ וְסָרוּ בִי, vii. 14, where בִי, as regards the construction, depends from יִתְגּ֫, but as regards the meaning from צָפָה עִם אֱלֹהִים וְסוּרוּ ; with God, besides God, to seek something else (not God,

[1] Comp. *e. gr.* the Address, Deut. xxxii. 1, with Micah i. 2, vi. 2; Is. i. 2; Jer. ii. 12 &c.

an idol), ix. 8; שְׁלֹם פָּרִים שְׂפָתַיִם, xiv. 3. Remarkable also are the forms he uses to give greater force to his expressions, as אָהֲבוּ הֵבוּ, iv. 18; נַאֲפוּפִים, ii. 4; הַבְהָבִים, viii. 13; שַׁעֲרִירִיָּה, vi. 10; comp. also the Hiphil form תְּרַגִּיל, xi. 3 (Ewald, § 238, sec. ed.) Unusual also is the *scriptio plena* of the א in קָאם, x. 14, cf., Ewald, s. 55, sec. ed., and אמאסאך, comp. Ewald, s. 174; תָּלוּא, xi. 7; יַפְרִיא (for יַפְרֶה), xiii. 15. There occurs here also a stronger Aramaic tinge, such as the infinitive-ending חַכִּי, vi. 9 (see, on the other hand, the imperative חַכֵּה, Hab. ii. 3); the form אוֹכִיל instead of אַאֲכִיל, xi. 4; קִמּוּשׁ for קְמוּשׁ, ix. 6; יוּבַל for יוּבָא, x. 6. To these must be added many altogether peculiar expressions: שְׂטִים (סָטִים, Ps. ci. 3), v. 2; מַשְׁטֵמָה, xi. 7, 8; שְׁבָבִים fragments, viii. 6; גָּהָה, v. 13; עָרַף, x. 2; תַּלְאוּבִים, xiii. 5, &c.—Hosea is followed by Jonah, who was a native of the north of Palestine (of the tribe of Zebulon), a circumstance which has exerted a marked influence on his style.[1] For the most part, he writes plain and simple prose; but his composition is pervaded with expressions of a very peculiar kind, and in part of an Aramaic class: הֵטִיל, of the tempest, i. 4, 12, also *to cast* in general, i. 5, 15; חָשַׁב, of an inanimate object, "to be in the mind, = to be about," i. 4;[2] נִשְׁבַּר, to be dashed in pieces, destroyed (of the ship), i. 4, comp. Ez. xxvii. 34; הִתְעַשֵּׁת, to show himself gracious, i. 6; בְּשֶׁלְמִי, *τίνος ἕνεκα*, quite Aramaic, as also in the earlier poetry, i. 7 (for this בַּאֲשֶׁר לְמִי, i. 8); so likewise בְּשֶׁלִּי, on my account, i. 12; שָׁתַק, elsewhere only in poetry (comp. the Syr. ܫܬܩ), i. 11; חָתַר, in the proper meaning *to row*, i. 13; זַעַף, of the sea, genuinely poetic, i. 15, like *ira maris*, Ovid. Met. I. 330; מְנָה, a favourite expression of the book, ii. 1, iv. 6, 8; קָרָא קְרִיאָה, iii. 2; עִיר גְּדוֹלָה לֵאלֹהִים for לֵאלֹהִים or בְּעֵינֵי, comp. Gesen. Lehr. s. 693; הֶעֱבִיר, deposuit, iii. 6 (of clothes); טַעַם, command, royal edict,

[1] The attempt to draw from this a proof of a later composition of this book is to be put down to the score of mistake; see *ex. gr.* De Wette, Einl. § 237, who says, "judging from the language of this book, it is one of the latest of the Old Testament."

[2] De Wette, loc. cit., compares as a parallel passage Prov. xxiv. 8; not without reason.

only however, in the Aramaic, iii. 7; בֶּן־לַיְלָה, son of a night, in the same night, as in the Aram. iv. 10, comp. Gesen. Lehr. s. 647, 758. Of none of these expressions can it be said that it betrays a corrupted Hebrew; rather does the contrary appear from the boldness and originality of many; nor is the Aramaic element stronger than in Hosea, and hence in both it is to be referred to one source. This influence appears to have had place with Amos, inasmuch as he belonged to the lowest class of the people. Without regarding him, on that account, according to a hasty judgment of Jerome, as "imperitus sermone," we may admit that he exhibits some peculiarities which appear to belong to the vulgar speech. Thus we have a peculiar orthography in some cases, as מְרֻתָּאב for מְרֻתָּעב, vi. 8 (the same case, Mal. i. 7. Comp. Gesen. Comm. z. Jes. I. s. 585, Ewald Krit. Gr. s. 34); a gradual softening of the gutteral pronunciation סָרַף for שָׂרַף, which was also a later incorrect mode of writing, as *e. gr.* in Ezra iv. 5, סָכַר for שָׂכַר, see Ewald, s. 29, בּוֹסֵס for בּוֹשֵׁשׁ, v. 11, and יִסְחָק, vii. 9, 16, Ewald s. 33 (who justly deduces this from the language of the people); עוֹק for צוֹק ii. 13, as in the Aramaic; the contraction כָּאוֹר, viii. 8, for כַּיְאוֹר, ix. 5, where some ignorantly enough have supposed an error of the transcriber; the word פָּרַט, vi. 5, certainly an unusual, harsh form for פָּרַשׂ, comp. פָּרַד, &c.[1]

A closely allied linguistic character is exhibited by the somewhat later prophets Joel, Isaiah, Micah, Nahum, Habakkuk, and Obadiah. Among these Micah and Isaiah are remarkable for the most beautiful paronomasias and plays on words, a special ornament of the oriental style, which however is found only in those writers who in the fullest sense are masters of their language.[2] In Isaiah especially we find united most copiously, in proportion to the

1 This word is commonly misunderstood from being too little viewed in connection with פָּרַשׂ, and known in its ground meaning. The common explanations also offend against the parallelism, do not sufficiently respect the strictly corresponding חִשַּׁב. Let פִּרְטִים be coupled with כְּלֵי שִׁיר, and reflect on the wholly analagous פָּרַשׂ אֵילַת, Prov. xiii. 16, with which also the Syriac usage of ܦܪܫ in Ethpaal is to be compared: studere, machinari; *e. gr.* Michaelis, Syr. Chrest. s. 5, ܕܐܬܦܪܫ ܠܡܩܛܠܘ, "he sought to seize upon," and more examples in Döpke Adnott. p. 110.

2 Comp. Hartmann's first Excursus on Micah, s. 193, ff. Herder Geist. der Heb. Poes. II., 290, ff. Gesenius, Lehrg., s. 856, ff. Kleinert, Aechth. d. Jes., s. 279, ff.

extent of his writings, the characteristics of a classical language; in this respect he may be viewed as "the Prince of the Prophets." These prophets are for the most part poets, and hence the reason of the many remarkable correspondencies between their language and that of the earlier poetic period.[1] Hence though several of them, like Nahum and Habakkuk, keep at a distance from the Aramaising element, and allow the pure Hebrew expression to prevail, yet in others, as Micah, such an element may be found in entire accordance with their poetic character; comp. Hirzel l. cit. p. 9.— Of late this has been misunderstood in certain portions of Isaiah, which in consequence of their philological character some would assign to a later date. So especially Gesenius and Hitzig in their commentaries on Isaiah.[2] Referring for the refutation of the former of these to the satisfactory work of Kleinert (s. 203, ff.), we shall confine ourselves here to the apparently more critical deduction of the latter. Here, with a total overlooking of the elevated character of the poetry of Isaiah, we find adduced as a mark of lateness the הִשְׁגִּיחַ of the Song of Solomon (s. 154), and פָּתַח in the sense of "to let go." He takes עָנָה in the sense of "to begin to speak," which is contrary to the language. Equally perverse is the attempt to conclude for a later age from נָדִיב and מוֹשֵׁל, which must be taken in an ill sense (tyrant, oppressor); for a more exact examination of the usage of the language shows that here also these words, as throughout, are *ῥήματα μέσα*, and can receive ill sense only from the *context*. It is only on the assumption that every unusual poetical signification of an object is to be viewed as a *late* one that certain *ἅπ. λεγ.* or peculiarities can be adduced as such, as is done, s. 241. But it is a thoroughly arbitrary hypercriticism when the very forcibleness of the emotion by which the numerus and the strict fetters of grammar are made to give way to the claims of rhetoric, is adduced as a proof "that the writer is no longer master of his style" (s. 273), a piece of reasoning on which refutation would be utterly thrown away. In the same way it is incorrectly assumed that זָנָה means in later writers "to carry on traffic," a meaning which it has neither in late writers nor in early ones. The "form מְכַסֶּה cannot have been constructed

1 Compare only the collection of examples in Kleinert loc. cit. s. 231.
2 Comp. also De Wette's Einl., § 208.

before the captivity" (sic!) and yet it is to be found already in the Pentateuch! As little is the attempt, s. 297, to prove the section, ch. xxiv.—xxvii., of later date, supported by one example which, on valid grounds, would prove this. In s. 395 the word גָּלָל, xxxiv. 4, used of a book is said to be a late word, because it was not till Jeremiah's age that there was any knowledge of Megillahs; but this is incorrect, on account of Ps. xl. 8, which Hitzig, without any sufficient reason, ascribes (Begr. d. Krit., s. 76, ff.) to the age of the captivity; also in Isaiah, there is not so much as even mention made of a single מְגִלָּה, but of a book in general (סֵפֶר.) חוֹרִים *nobiles*, xxxii. 12; belongs to the later usage, in so far as it is applied to the inland relations of the Israelites (as *e. gr.*, 1 Kings xxi. 8, 11; Neh. vi. 17, &c.,) but it is not so used by Isaiah, who employs the foreign word[1] of Edom's princes.[2]—חֲצִיר, xxxiv. 13, court, is not assuredly an elongation for חָצֵר (see on the contrary Ewald, Kr. Gr. s. 234), but as little is it as Hitzig supposes (s. 401) Arabistic (حصير) and hence a later word (s. 395), but an adjective, "an enclosed thing;" the adj., however, stands here poetically for the substantive, as was formerly remarked.—But Hitzig calls attention especially (s. 472, ff.) to the later character of the style of the second part of Isaiah. The laxity of the syntax, in the first place, is here such as to "go beyond all the other Hebrew," to which it is strangely added, "and no later writer ever equals him in this"—a judgment which is especially adverse to those who maintain the former position, since there is thus ascribed to the writer an originality in his usage of language which cannot be ascribed to him on the hypothesis of the spuriousness of this section. In support of this opinion there is alleged the placing of the accusative before the infinitive by which it is governed (xlix. 6), which must be an Aramaic usage; in opposition to which it is to be considered how that arrangement has arisen out of the already foregoing infinitive, which is construed regularly, and must be also

1 In the Aramaic, comp. נְדָן, נְדָנָן, in the Arabic ندن liber, ingenuus, *e. gr.* Ali sentent. nr. 9, 43, ed. Stickel.

2 Elsewhere the equally remarkable word אַלּוּף is used for this. As Zechariah applies this word to Israel, so also the later writers apply our חֹרִים, and this is a very instructive parallel for showing the ancient usage of Isaiah.

transformed to the following, for the strengthening of which a new infinitive is however placed.[1] The construction חָפֵץ יַגְדִּיל, xlii. 21, "he was pleased to honour," the fut. for the infin. must needs be Arabic, in support of which Job xxxii. 22 is also cited. But Hitzig might have learned the true construction from Ewald, s. 331, 2te Ausg., where perfectly analogous cases are cited from the purest Hebrew prose. After such illustrious specimens we may pass over the other syntactical anomalies, among which, *e. gr.*, is rated "the great levity with which the author makes the first and second person relative," the non-repetition of the preposition, and such like, of which enough may be found abundantly among the best early poets.

Still more decisive of a later composition must be the construction of the forms. But here also we find only deaf nuts. "A transference, it is said, of the passive pronunciation of Pual to the reflexives, as in מְנוּאָץ, lii. 5, נְגֹאָל, lix. 3, does not occur in the earlier writers, and the latter of these forms is found only besides in Lam. iv. 14." This rule (adopted even by Ewald) wants correction. The properly later phenomenon, because a corruption of the Hebrew usage of the Hithpael, is the *passive* use of this for the reflexive.[2] If, however, a passive pronunciation of the reflexive forms must be admitted, there appears such (though seldom) in a twofold manner: 1, as Hotpaal; thus only in the Pentateuch, and also in Is. xxxiv. 6; or 2, with a passive pronunciation of the strengthened form; thus Is. lii. 5; Prov. xxv. 16, xlvi. 8. Both modes of construction are alike good, and based in the essence of the language, inasmuch as Hithpael is a compound conjugation. The passive pronunciation of Niphal, formed according to the latter analogy, is *peculiar only to Isa.* lix. 3, for the passage in Lam. iv. 14 is visibly imitated from this, just as the entire representation in Is. lix. lies at the basis of that of Jeremiah in the

1 [The author means, I presume, that even had the inf. לְהָשִׁיב not been used at all, the construction would have been complete, as the inf. לְהָקִים would govern not only אֶת שִׁבְטֵי יַעֲקֹב but also וְנִצְרֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל, and that the second inf. is used only for the sake of adding force to the statement: "For the raising up of the tribes of Jacob and the preserved of Israel, for leading back."]—Tr.

2 This is found only in the latest writers, for the two examples adduced from Gen. xxii. 18 and Mic. vi. 16 by Ewald, Kr. Gr. s. 205, are not correctly referred to this. Niphal also passes gradually into the conception of the passive.

passage adduced.[1] "The softening of preformative ה in Hiphil in אַגְאַלְתִּי, lxiii. 3, is only found in the later writers." But Hitzig himself contends for this softening in Is. viii. 2, and thus contradicts himself. "Most evidently is the author convicted by the interchange of the prep. אֵת with the sign of the accusative, liv. 15, lix. 21." It is true that this interchange is a later[2] usage; but the instances in Isaiah are of quite a different kind: in liv. 15 מֵאוֹתִי stands in consequence of the pause; that the author knew מֵאִתִּי well enough in other places is proved by the following 17th verse; the other passage, lix. 21, is to be rendered: "this is my covenant, your memorial;" comp. the closely parallel passage, lv. 13; see also liv. 10. Only in this way does the passage suit the context, and correspond with the passages of the Pentateuch, which speak of a covenant-memorial, to which Isaiah here undoubtedly alludes. "A covenant with you" would be here very flat, and not even good Hebrew.—"To the identity with the genuine Isaiah it is by no means favourable that in lx. 17, פְּקֻדָּה signifies magistrate, whilst in Is. x. 3 it signifies visitation, punishment." But the former meaning of the word occurs already in the Pentateuch, and that there is an allusion thereto in consequence of the description of the new theocratic reign is undeniable.—"The high antiquity of the book is opposed by the formation of a Pual from קרא (in the first mood and partic.) lviii. 12, lxi. 3, lxii. 2, lxv. 1, xlviii. 12, also Ez. x. 13, of a Pilel from שׁיד lviii. 8, also Ps. cxliii. 5, of a Piel from פאר, *e. gr.* lx. 7, 13, also Ezr. vii. 27," &c. Here, however, it is to be observed that those peculiarities which occur in Ezekiel and Ezra in prose are used by Isaiah in highly poetical discourse, a circumstance which must be ascribed to the taste of the writer.—"He has a transitive Kal קדשׁ, lviii. 13, lxv. 5; whilst the earlier writers always write קִדֵּשׁ in this sense." But not to insist upon the different explanation which has been given of lviii. 13, it may be observed of lxv. 5 that here the Kal is used purposely, because the reference is to something unusual, to idolatrous consecration, (compare the subst. קֹדֶשׁ); elsewhere it is of

[1] The forms יִגְאַל, Ez. ii. 62, and מִגְאַל, Mal. i. 7, 12, prove that such a formation can belong only to the substantiality of the living speech, consequently manifestly to the taste of Isaiah.

[2] From the earlier writers only a very few cases of the kind occur. Comp. § 32.

Jehovah alone that קִדֵּשׁ is used.—" He likewise uses, lxiv. 6, a Kal מוּג in the transitive sense of the Pilel or of a Hiphil." This, however, is a well-known license of poets.—" It is only in keeping when he allows an intransitive Hiphil, such as הוֹלִיד, lxvi. 9, lv. 10, to be also causative, in which he accords with the chronicler (comp. 1 Chron. ii. 18, viii. 8), and makes an intransitive Hiphil, like הִדְהִיהַּ, lx. 22, into a transitive, whereby he differs from the genuine Isaiah (comp. v. 19)." But the conception *to make to bear* cannot be otherwise expressed in Heb. than by הוֹלִיד, and the latter is one too common to be any cause of special offence; comp. *e. gr.* הֵעִיד to attest, and with the accus. to cause to attest, Is. viii. 2.—The impure Hebrew, corrupted by Arabisms and Aramaisms is made to apppear chiefly from the following: בָּחַר to prove כְּשֶׁ, Syr. strengthening like כְּ, בֶּן; compare xlviii. 10. But בָּחַר must retain here its common signification *to select* or *choose*, which alone suits the context; see ver. 9 and 11. The expression, " peoples and tongues," lxvi. 18, is certainly not radically an Aramaism, since it rests indubitably on a reference to Gen. x. On יִתַּד, lvi. 12, see Kleinert, lib. cit. s. 212.—The סִגְנִים, xli. 25, is certainly a foreign word, which, however, in the age of Isaiah could not be unknown to the Hebrews on account of their relations with Assyria. It is intentionally used for the denoting of a foreign object.[1]

Such are the principal instances adduced by Hitzig, and from these one may judge of the untenability of the rest. For, proofs drawn, *e. gr.*, from the Arabic meaning of שָׁחַר, to charm away, xlvii. 11, are to be passed over in silence, since they rest upon gross misunderstanding of the passages in question.[2] Still more must this be imputed to this critic when he sets aside the many and remarkable affinities between the part he impugns, and the language of the part universally acknowledged as genuine of Isaiah (see Kleinert, s. 221, ff.) as " minutiæ." But that that is not said in earnest

[1] Isaiah, however, does not appear to have known the precise usage of the word, for he employs it in the general sense of ruler or prince; whereas in the Book of Daniel it denotes a definite class of officers. Here also we find first the exact local knowledge; see my Comment. s. 99.

[2] Thus xlvii. 11 is by Gesenius rightly rendered: " ruin the dawn of which thou seest not." In a similar tropical manner is the dawn used by Joel ii. 2.

is evident from what is added, when he seeks to explain these "minutiæ" from a "relation of dependence of this writer upon the genuine Isaiah." Every one sees that such minutiæ are nevertheless very mark-worthy and glaring (comp. s. 469.) A vigorously scientific linguistic research can hardly satisfy itself with such phrases. It is good, however, that there are such witnesses to prove how far party-spirit has gone in the Neologian criticism, and how it has violently confounded the simplest and almost proverbial rules.

§ 34. SECOND AGE OF THE HEBREW LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE. —THE PERIOD OF THE CAPTIVITY.

With the period of the captivity (inclusive of both the immediately preceding and following age) there arose an entirely new literature strikingly different from the earlier, and which is to be traced to the influence exerted by the Aramaic tongue upon the Hebrew which had previously been developing itself within restricted limits. There were, indeed, before this Aramaic offshoots which had settled as colonies in the then kingdom of Israel (2 Kings xvii. 24); but these had entered into no relations of a friendly nature with the Israelites (comp. 2 Kings xxiii. 19, 20.) From the time of the death of Josiah, however, Judah was continually exposed to invasions from Babylon, and then there began to be a disturbance of the purity of the ancient mother-tongue, which continually increased until this ceased, during the time of the captivity, to be the language of the people (see § 35.) Certain modications thus also befel the literature, which we may in the general reduce to a twofold phenomenon.

There are two ways in which the destruction of the independence of a language makes itself apparent. People are in the first instance necessitated to revert to the older purer documents in order to reproduce from them again in a living state the extant language, and thus there arises the principle of *imitating* the earlier writings. But even with that the literature cannot be kept free from the popular corruption of the language, which glimmers out more or less according to the greater cultivation and the varied individuality of the writer; and thus there arises a *corrupt written language*.

From the former of these principles there has proceeded in the Hebrew literature, in the first instance, a new species of historiography. It exhibits the modification that the narrative is now put together as a compilation from the sources, of which the books of Kings may be taken as indicating the beginning, whilst those of Chronicles exhibit the tendency in a more fully realised state. Closely connected with the historical books stand the later prophets, which are based partly on the Pentateuch, partly on the earlier prophets, in such a fashion that without a comparison of both portions they can neither in respect of form nor in respect of material be comprehended. In like manner the poetical compositions of this period, such as Ecclesiastes, a portion of the Psalms, and the Lamentations, bear a character of imitation, and of the use for the most part of the ancient models.

The corrupt written language has again two divisions. Much of it is nothing else than what has proceeded from the internal decay of the language itself, as earlier elegancies fell into disuse, and the language assumed a coarser and less smooth character. Something also is due to the foreign Aramaic idiom mingling with the Hebrew, and obtaining a naturalization in it. It is difficult, however, not to say impossible, to make a perfect separation here, because the corrupted Hebrew would be itself allied to the Aramaic. In this way much is found in this language in prose, which at an earlier period was peculiar to poetry, and even—so many archaisms are here already statedly received. In order, however, to estimate aright what belongs to the later written language, it is by no means sufficient merely to enumerate and collect some forms raked together out of these writings,[1] whereby one cannot miss falling into blunders;[2] there needs a careful observation and intuition of the inner development of the language. Thus here there is apparent in the orthography an effort after distinctness which shows itself principally in the *scriptio plena* of the vowel-letters, which enters into even the most familiar words, where in the earlier time it was not needed (see Ewald, § 150, 2te Ausg.), as דָּוִיד ,יְרוּשָׁלַיִם (Movers, ub. d. Chronik. s. 43 and 200.) An effort appears also to lengthen the trilitteral stems, by means of interpolating the liquid ר, without there being any reason for this in the coming-

[1] As Gesenius, *e. gr.* has done in his Geschichte d. Heb. Spr. s. 28, ff.

[2] As when Gesenius reduces under this head the forms in יהו־, &c. See on the other side Eichhorn, I. 83, 4te Ausg.

together of two stems, or a stronger meaning of the stem (as is always the case where this occurs in the older language); thus שַׁרְבִּיט for שָׁבַט in Esther, סַרְעַפָּה twig, Ezek. xxxi. 5; כרבל for כבל (Chron. and Dan.), and even in proper names, as דַּרְמֶשֶׂק for דַּמֶּשֶׂק (Chron.). Exactly similar is the usage of the Syrians (Gesenius, Lehrg. s. 863, ff.) The ת of the feminine is weakened, and there remains, as in the Aramaic, only a *o*—*u*, as in רְבוּא רִבּוֹ, earlier רִבָּבָה. The distinction between passive and reflexive formations gradually disappears; the latter come into the place of the former, whilst conversely the passive formations assume a reflexive meaning, and form a kind of imperative (Jer. xlix. 8; Ez. xxxii. 19.) The use of the future with the so-called *vav conversivum* is here, as respects its ground-character, more obliterated, and the verbal stem appears usually in the full form of the fut. absol., comp. Ewald, s. 164. The particle את, as the sign of the accusative and as a preposition, ceases to be any longer discriminated, and the Aramaic ל is introduced as the mark of the accusative. It is an indication of poverty in the language which is no longer familiar with the delicate usage of את, that it employs ל (which is, as respects its nature, properly demonstrative) to denote alike the nearer and the more remote object. It is also a real degeneracy of the language which is indicated in the use of בָּקָר, at an earlier period used only collectively, and so distinguishably from שׁוֹר, as also a plural of individual cattle. Likewise עָבַד in old Hebrew constantly *to work, to serve* (fully allied to the stronger stem עָצַב, on which see Böttcher, Proben, s. 53), is in the later weakened into the general signification *to do*, as constantly in Aramaic. Another evidence of the degeneracy of the language is the use of the prep. עַל, which originally was used emphatically to express the subduing power of an affection (see Ewald, z. Hohenl. s. 122), chiefly in a bad, more rarely in a good sense,[1] but which in the later usage appears only in the latter, without any emphatic accessory notion; as טוֹב עַל הַמֶּלֶךְ (Esther, Neh.), where the earlier usus requires בְּעֵינֵי, or something equivalet. So בְּתוֹךְ stands in the sense of *just as, together with*, in the

1 And here also always with a special emphasis, as in Ps. xvi. 6, שָׁפַר עָלַי, which Ewald excellently renders: "it pleases me greatly." (Gr. s. 327.)

later writers, Böttcher, l. c. s. 36. The frequent dilatation of the prepositions and adverbs is peculiar in general to the later writers; as עַד לְמָאוֹד, 2 Chr. xvi. 14; עַד אֶל, 2 Kings ix. 20, Ewald, s. 330. Under this head, moreover, we must place also the usage עָמַד for קוּם, especially in Dan. and Chron., פָּקַד עַל for צִוָּה, רַב for שַׂר, &c.

The degeneracy of the language is best seen in those pieces in which older ones have been recomposed. The method and manner in which the difficulties and harshnesses of the older are evitated in the more recent writings show not so much a want of knowledge, on the part of the writer, of the older idiom (for that this cannot be assumed is determined by the attested acquaintance of these authors with their ancient sacred literature), as rather the estrangement of the popular language from the ancient written language; in order to make themselves intelligible to their contemporaries, each writer had to use the idiom current among them. Thus, *e. gr.*, in the repetition of the older prophecies concerning Moab by Jeremiah; comp. Num. xxi. 28, 29, xxiv. 17, with Jer. xlviii. 45, 46. In the Pent. we have מֵחֶשְׁבוֹן, כִּי אֵשׁ יָצְאָה, in Jer. כִּי אֵשׁ יָצָא מִחֶ׳ (where we see already the later inexactness in respect of gender, אֵשׁ is invariably *feminine* in the Pentateuch, comp. Gesenius, Lehrg. s. 546: a perfectly similar case is with נַחֲשֶׁת, Ez. i. 7)[1]—Pent.: לֶהָבָה מִבֵּין סִיחֹן, Jer.: וְלֶהָבָה מִבֵּין סִיחֹן (here, on account of the ambiguity, קִרְיַת [comp. also Num. xxii. 39] is avoided.)—Pent.: וּמָחַץ פַּאֲתֵי מוֹאָב, Jer.: וַתֹּאכַל פְּאַת מוֹאָב (for the genuine poetic פַּאֲתֵי there stands the prosaic sing. פְּאָה, *latus*, comp. Exod. xxvi. 18, in Jer. as the context, comp. ver. 37, shows = פְּאַת הַזָּקָן (Lev. xix. 27, xxi. 5), *the whiskers*, comp. ix. 25, xxv. 23, xlix. 32).—Pent.: וְקָרְקַר כָּל־בְּנֵי שֵׁת, Jer. וְקָדְקַד בְּנֵי שָׁאוֹן (here for two difficult terms is a term expressing only the sense in general), &c. In the same relations to each other stand the prophecies of Isa. xv., xvi., compared with Jer. xlviii; Is. xiii., xiv. with Jer. l., li.; Is. xxiii. 16 with Ez. xxvi. 13, &c.[2]

[1] Gesenius has treated this relation altogether incorrectly (Com. z. Jes. I. 513); he finds in Jer. the more difficult readings, and hence hastily concludes that Jer. had a different text of Numb. xxi. before him.

[2] Sufficient care has not been taken in regard to these relations to discriminate what

From this it may be easily conceived how this use of the earlier writers would become more and more free as the degeneracy of the Hebrew advanced, and would less reverently treat the form of the originals or the sources, but would alter them so as to suit the time. In this respect the books of Kings and of Chronicles are in a philological point of view of high interest, since we can by means of them observe the alleged process very distinctly in the case of two writings between the composition of which hardly a century intervened. The former keeps very close by its sources, and gives indication of its later character only in particular linguistic peculiarities (see under); the latter, on the contrary, has enstamped upon the diction of the original, on the whole, a character which very clearly bespeaks the advancing extinction of the language. The chronicler, as a rule, corrects the older expression, altering it according to the more recent style and formation, or exchanging it for another. Hence the already noticed scriptio plena; the Aramaising orthography with א prosthetic, as אִישַׁי, comp. Ewald, § 155, 2te Aufl.; the compensation by a liquid for the Dagesh forte, as דַּרְמֶשֶׂק constantly for דַּמֶּשֶׂק, comp. 1 Chron. xv. 27; the older forms, such as the termination in ון—, the pron. אֲנֹכִי, the forms תַּחְנָה, מַמְלָכָה, מַעֲבֶה changed into the later עַבְדִי, תַּחֲנוּן, מַלְכוּת, אֲנִי —ו, &c. More ancient constructions are supplanted by more recent: thus the combination of the finite verb with the infin. absol. is no longer current, the latter is regularly dropped; the names of countries, where they are used for the inhabitants, are construed not with the singular fem. of the verb, but with the plural (comp. Gesen. Lehrg. s. 469); in place of the conjunction of the simple object with verbs of motion to denote the direction (Ewald, s. 315), the preposition is used, which formerly was done only in case of special emphasis, &c. For the earlier expression a later is instituted: thus *e. gr.* for פָּקַד, to number, muster (later, to command), we have סָפַר; for כָּרַת, to uproot, נָתַשׁ; for פָּנָה, to turn, הָפַךְ; for סוּר, to turn oneself, סָבַב; for נָטַל, to impute, נָטָה; for גְּוִיָּה, a corpse, גּוּפָה, &c. Less frequent is the converse where the chronicler puts the usual regular and more

has been altered in consequence of adaptation to the individual object of each writer from what has merely a formal character.

correct for the anomalous and improper in the older writings—a circumstance which is explained by the same effort after rendering the original more plain, and which is limited to what is usual and easily offers itself to observation from the study of the older writers. Thus the chronicler writes, *e. gr.* בּוֹר for בְּאֵר, כָּסָא for כִּסֵּא, מֵבִיא for מֵבִי; he uses the abbreviated future after *vav. relat.* where in the parallel places the full future is found, and avoids the cohortative נָה— after this *vav* (comp. Ewald, s. 164), &c. See Movers, lib. cit.

The transition to the period now under consideration is made by Zephaniah, the contemporary of Josiah. Certainly his language is the purest of this age; still he has much that is peculiar and new, as i. 9, דּוֹלֵג עַל־הַמִּפְתָּן, he that springs over the threshold, *i.e.* who irreverently approaches the Lord without being purified (comp. Is. i. 12; Ez. ix. 3); i. 12, אֲחַפֵּשׂ אֶת־יְרוּשָׁלַיִם בַּנֵּרוֹת; the form הֻתְקוֹשָׁשׁ, to test oneself carefully, ii. 1; he has also very elegant instances of Paronomasia that remind us of Micah ii. 4. But there is observable in him a remarkable want of independence, inasmuch as he contains much out of the older prophets; comp. *e. gr.* i. 15 with Joel ii. 2; ii. 14 with Is. xxxiv. 11; ii. 15 with Is. xlvii. 8, and xiii. 21, 22, &c. Besides, traces are apparent of the later usage of the language, particularly an affinity with Jeremiah, comp. the phrase קָפָא עַל־שִׁמְרָיו, i. 12, with Jer. xlviii. 11; הֵסִיף, to make an end, i. 2, 3, Jer. viii. 13, comp. Dan. ii. 44; נוּגִים, iii. 18, comp. Lam. i. 4, Ewald, s. 244; the הַיּוֹנָה, iii. 1, comp. Jer. xxv. 28, xlvi. 16, l. 16; גָּרַם, iii. 3, to tear off (for the sake of preserving), like the Syr. ܓܪܡ.

Still more corrupt is the style of Jeremiah, who lived somewhat later, and in whom the influence of the Aramaic is already very evident.[1] He has much that is analogous to the books of Kings, only that the latter, in consequence of the older sources from which they are drawn, are on the whole less impure in style. Jeremiah also connects himself very closely with the earlier prophets, and with the Pentateuch, as has been already shown. Here are found in place of the older expressions new ones which were either wholly

1 Comp. A. Knobel, Jeremias chaldaizans. Dissert. Vratislav, 1831, 8vo—not elaborated with sufficient criticism.

unknown to the earlier period, or were used in another sense. Thus יָאָה, a later softening of נָאָה, to be fair, amiable, well-becoming (cognate also is יָפָה), Jer. x. 7 (for this we have נָאָה, see Ps. xciii. 5), used here without any change of meaning as in older changes of the sort; comp. יָצַב and נָצַב, יָקַשׁ and נָקַשׁ (comp. Böttcher, Proben, s. 8.) כָּתַם, in the old Hebrew allied in meaning with חָתַם (comp. כֶּתֶם), Jer. ii. 22, to be spotted, or soiled, as in the Aram. עוּב, *obnubilavit*, Lam. ii. 1, softened from the ancient עוּף, comp. in Syr. ܥܽܘܦ, *latibulum, lustrum ferarum*. So also בְּנָעָה, a bundle, a traveller's bundle, from בָּנַע, softened from בָּנַס (בְּנַשׁ), Jer. x. 17, whereas in old Hebrew בָּנַע is connected with בָּרַע, to bind. Conversely from בָּרַע the harsher form ברשׁ, ברס arose, which is found in the noun בְּרֶשׁ, the belly, li. 34, Syr. ܒܽܘܣ, ܒܽܘܫ. דָּיוּק, a watch-tower, lii. 4, 2 Kings xxv. 1, and in Ezekiel for מְגָדֵל, צְרִיחַ, from the Aram. צָיַח, *speculari, prospicere*. מֶלֶט, *argilla*, xliii. 9, Syr. ܛܝܼܠܳܐ, instead of the Heb. חֹמֶר. רָטָט, *tremor*, xlix. 24, a permutation of the ancient ת into ט, רתת, see Hos. xiii. 1.[1] From the ancient רָעַע and רָצַץ there arose in Jeremiah, רָשַׁשׁ, v. 17 (comp. Mal. i. 4.) The הָמָה has passed into הָמַל, comp. הֲמֻלָּה, xi. 16, comp. Ezek. i. 24, in place of הָמוֹן.—Here also occur a number of foreign words for the objects which, through their intercourse with Babylon, came to the knowledge of the Hebrews, and which in part were thenceforward transferred to Israelitish relations as the expressions referring to the new political relations:[2] מְדִינָה, Lam. i. 1; 1 Kings xx. 14, 15, 17, 19, &c.; סָגָן, *praefectus*, Jer. li. 23, 28, 57; פַּחָה, governor, li. 23, 28, 57; 1 Kings x. 15, 20, &c.; רַב, as a title of honour often in connection with other words such as רַב סָרִיס, רַב טַבָּחִים, רַב־מָג (for which at an earlier period שַׂר was used.)—The decline of the language, however, is especially shown by the *grammatical* formations. It has partly lost the finer construction which was produced

1 Exactly like תָּעָה, later טָעָה, Ezek. xiii. 10, Syr. ܛܥܳܐ.

2 See thereon my Comment. on Daniel, s. 95, ff.

during its flourishing period, and reverts to the old, original, rugged character, so that Archaisms are found; partly the peculiar characteristic Hebrew has disappeared, and we find in place of it formations which indicate an Aramaic influence. Thus we have the full Pronominal forms אַתִּי—תִּי, כִי— (in the verb) introduced already as regular, for which the earlier language preferred the more delicate abbreviation (comp. Knobel, p. 9, 13), the ה praef. of the Hiphil is already for the most part hardened into ת (Tiphil, see Ewald, s. 117; Knobel, p. 10, sq.) The verbs with א or ה show here more frequently than elsewhere the י and ו, which lies at their base, *e. gr.* in אֹבִידָה Fut Hiph. (Syr. ܐܰܘܿܒܶܕ), xlvi. 8; נְבִיתָ for נָבֵאתָ; also the use of מֵבִי for מֵבִיא, הַחֲטִי for הַחֲטִיא, belongs to this (comp. Hoffmann, Gr. Syr. p. 221.) Degeneracy is attested by the abstract formations where formerly the concrete prevailed, as בּוֹר, a lye (Job ix. 30; Is. i. 25), for which בְּרִית, Jer. ii. 22; Mal. iii. 2; or when the conception itself is very repugnant, as in מְמוֹתִים, xvi. 4, comp. 2 Kings xi. 2; Ez. xxviii. 8. The old accusative sign becomes even less usual, and in its place occurs the Aram. לְ (comp. Knobel, p. 30, sq.) Decidedly anomalous is the placing of the article before the first noun in the stat. constr., as xxxii. 12, xxv. 26, xxxviii. 9; comp. 1 Kings xiv. 24; 2 Kings xxiii. 17; Ewald, s. 310. Here likewise the pervading interchange of the accusative sign אֵת and the preposition is a sure sign of a later corruption of the language.

Still deeper does this go with the writers who composed while actually living in Babylon during the exile—Ezekiel and Daniel. The former has carried negligence of form so far, that it may with truth be said that he contains relatively the largest number of grammatical irregularities and incorrectnesses (Gesenius, Gesch. s. 35.) Passing over what is common to him with Jeremiah, the following is chiefly deserving of notice: the partly antiquated, partly Aramaising Pronominal-forms, יְהֵא—, xli. 15; אָ— for הָ—, xxxv. 5; יְהֵמָה —יְהֵנָה—, xl. 16; i. 11; יְהֵנָה—, xvi. 53 (comp. 1 Kings vii. 37); בֵּנָה—, xxiii. 48; אַתֵּנָה, xiii. 20; נִי— for י—, xlvii. 7;—the verbal forms קְרָחָא, גְּבָהָא, xxxi. 5; xxvii. 31; יוּכְלוּ (fut. Kal. from אָכַל), xlii. 5, comp. Böttcher, Proben, s. 354; the imperative of the Hophal, xxxii. 19 (comp. also Jerem.

xlix. 8; the conjunction of the infinitive in וּת— with the Plural suffix (vi. 8, xvi. 31, Lehrg. s. 215); two forms are inexactly melted into one in נְאֻשָּׂאר, ix. 8, see Ewald, Kr. Gr. s. 489, and in the same light probably we are to regard the difficult מִשְׁוַתַּחֲוִיתָם, viii. 16, Ewald l. c. Among nominal forms may be noticed as peculiar the Plur. אוֹת—xxxi. 8, xlvii. 11, comp. Ewald, s. 55 and 234, 2te Ausg. מוֹבוֹא for מָבוֹא, xliii. 11; the Dual endings וֹ—, xiii. 18, and ם—, xxv. 9, xlvi. 19. Less gross anomalies are found in Daniel, whose language is nevertheless in many respects allied to that of his cotemporaries. Thus we find the infinitive formation, חִתְחַבְּרוּת, xi. 23, which has no analogy but that of Ezek. xxiv. 26 (הַשְׁמָעוּת), so likewise חוּב, חוֹב, Dan. i. 10; Ez. xviii. 17; זוּהר, Dan. xii. 3; Ez. viii. 2; בַּג, Dan. i. 5; Ez. xxv. 7; כְּתָב for סֵפֶר, Dan. x, 21; Ez. 13, 9, &c. This book also contains much that is new, and of an Aramaic cast, as *e. gr.* מוֹעֵד for עֵת, after the Aramaic עִדָּן, viii. 19, xii. 7; חִידָה = מְרָמָה in the bad sense, viii. 23; בִּזָּה for בַּז, Booty, xi. 24, 33, the form תַּעֲמֻדְנָה, viii. 22, the עֶרֶב בּוֹקֶר, *νυχθήμερον* (see my Comment. on viii. 14, s. 294), a perfectly novel expression for the ancient בֵּין הָעַרְבַּיִם (comp. Ideler, Handb. d. Chronol. I. 483), &c.

Next come the books written shortly after the captivity—the books of Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah, Esther, Ecclesiastes, all of which bear the character of the corrupt Hebrew. The most peculiar, both as to contents and form, is Ecclesiastes. In the first instance, it must certainly be observed in reference to this book (what has commonly been overlooked),[1] that as it bears the imitative character common to its age, it contains much that is common to the writings of Solomon, and must be explained from these. Thus, *e. gr.*, צִפּוֹר בַּעַל כָּנָף, a bird, Eccl. x. 10; Prov. i. 17; חִבּוּק יָדַיִם, Eccl. iv. 5; Prov. vi. 10, xxiv. 33 (image of laziness); הֶבֶל (one of the favourite words in Ecclesiastes) comp. Prov. xiii. 11, xxi. 6, xxxi. 30; לֵב מַרְפֵּא, or simply מַרְפֵּא, calmness, yielding, Eccl. x. 4; Prov. xiv. 30, xv. 4; הִבְיַע, used in the proper sense, comp. Eccl. x. 1, with Prov. xviii. 4; שׁוּק, street, Eccl. xii. 4, 5;

1 For instance, by Hartmann, in his Linguist. Einleitung in d. B. Koheleth, Winer's Zeitschr. für Wissenschaftl. Theol Bd. I. 1, s. 29, ff.

Prov. vii. 8; Cant. iii. 2; עַצְלָה, indolence, Eccl. x. 10; Prov. xix. 15, comp. xxxi. 27, and the so frequently occurring תַּעֲנֻגוֹת עֶגֶל, delights of love, Eccles. ii. 8; Cant. vii. 7, ii. 8; the same play on words in שֵׁם and שֵׁמֶן, Eccl. vii. 1; Cant. i. 3. It is evident that the writer, formed by the study of Solomon's writings, has attached himself to him in many things, which is attested also by their differences, such as מֵאָה, hundred times, Prov. xvii. 10; מְאַת, Eccl. viii. 12 (the latter is the later feminine-form.[1]) With its contemporaries also this book has much in common, as אֶלֶף if vi. 6, Esth. vii. 14; בִּהֵל, to hasten, (Esth., Chron.); זְמָן, time, iii. 1 (Neh., Esth., Dan.), יוֹתֵר, besides xii. 12, Esth. vi. 6; מְדִינָה, ii. 8, v. 7; שָׁלַט, to rule, ii. 19, viii. 9; סְגֵר, Door, ii. 19, vii. 17, &c. (so likewise with Jeremiah.[2]) Further, this book contains a multitude of expressions quite peculiar to itself, some of which have a philosophical tinge, and all of which partake of a peculiar cast; hence, *e. gr.*, the unusual number of abstract forms, the frequent usage of יֵשׁ, to denote the peculiar being or essence of a thing, and its opposite אַיִן; also the expressions הֶבֶל, יִתְרוֹן, רַעְיוֹן רוּחַ, רְעוּת, רוּחַ, לַהַג, חֶשְׁבּוֹן, חֵלֶק, טוֹב, &c., belong here; comp. Umbreit, Coheleth scepticus de summo bono, p. 112. Much is the result of the intruding Aramaic, which the author in part invests with a Hebraistic garb, in part simply adopts; thus the words בְּבַר, יְהוּא, כְּשֶׁרוֹן (comp. Ewald, *s.* 158), גּוּמָץ, x. 8; חוּץ מִן, ii. 25, בָּטַל, xi. 3, &c. Hence it may not unjustly be said that some parts approach closely to the talmudic-rabbinical usage (Gesenius, Gesh. s. 36), at least we have here a sort of transition to it.[3]

[1] Not at all the status constr., as Hartmann, Lib. cit. s. 57, opines.

[2] The number of instances collected under this head by Hartmann, is much too large; see lib. cit., s. 52, ff.

[3] [These remarks on the language of Ecclesiastes, appear to me unworthy of the author, and find a sufficient refutation in his previous strictures upon the attempts of the Rationalists, to assign a late origin to Job and Canticles. Surely the resemblance of the style of Ecclesiastes to that of the Solomonic writings, is strongly in favour of the ordinary opinion, that this also is a production of the royal sage. The fact also that some of the alleged Aramaic words are conformed to the Hebrew, may well suggest grave doubt as to the author's reasoning; for surely it is just as probable that these are ancient forms of pure Hebrew words, as that they are later words invested with an Archaic form. Of the words which Hävernick has specified as Aramaic, I doubt whether

The greatest corruption, however, of the Hebrew is exhibited when the language of the people, the commonly so-called Chaldaic, was adopted by the writers, as from various occasions is sometimes the case: Jerem. x. 11; Dan. ii. 4—7, 28; Ezra iv. 8—vi. 18, vii. 12—26. Some of this is doubtless to be attributed to a Babylonian idiotism (see on this above), but the greater part is a mingling of the Aramaic with the Hebrew. Here the Hebrew frequently has been preserved in a manner quite opposed to the Aramaic; *e. gr.* in the placing of the article, the decided clearer pronunciation of the vowels, the doubling of the non-gutturals, the use of the Dual-form, the passive formations, Hofal, &c. But just as strong and significant is the correspondence of this dialect with the Aramaic, and the anti-Hebraic element thence resulting; *e. gr.* the want of vowels in the word-forms, the status emphaticus, the ל as a mark of the accusative, the formation of the passive by the syllable אתּ, &c. The chief distinction between the biblical and the later targumic (see ch. iv.) Chaldee, consists just in this mode of composition, since in the latter the Hebrew element is decidedly more depressed.[1] The *Patois* which thus arose is in the Canonical writings perfectly harmonious, because of the proximity in age of the writers, who have preserved it to us. Not without justice has it been said (see De Wette, Einl., s. 332), that this idiom must be fluctuating; and this is shown especially in the fluctuating formations of the words chiefly used as, *e. gr.*, the pronouns (thus the forms: לָהֵן, לָהֶם, לָכֶם־אֵלֶּה, אֵלֶּה־הֵא, הֵדֵּךְ, דֵּן, דֵּכֵן, דֵּךְ),

any of them can be *proved* to be such. כבר is a pure Hebrew word signifying *length*, and the peculiarity of its use in Ecclesiastes is that (like many such nouns in all languages), it is used adverbially to signify *long since*; כשׁרין occurs only in Ecclesiastes, but I can see no reason for regarding it as Aramaic, it seems to be a perfectly regular Hebrew formation from כשׁר; יהוא is certainly an Aramaic looking form, but may not the א be paragogic to the apocopated future יהו? (so Dr Lee explains the word, Heb. Gr., p. 251, ed. 1844); גומץ occurs only in Ecclesiastes, but it is not Aramaic; it is the Hebrew word to which the Syr. *Gumotss* and the Ch. *Gumtsa* correspond, the root of all being גמץ; חוץ מן is undoubtedly a singular usage, but it is not Aramaic, and there seems nothing more unhebraic in the use of מן after חוץ, than in the use of ל after it, as in Gen. xix. 16, xxiv. 11, &c.; בטל, for ought that appears to the contrary, is pure Hebrew—that it is not exclusively Aramaic, is evident from its existing in both the Arabic and the Ethiopic (see Gesenius, Lex. sub. voc.) I cannot but regret that Dr H., usually so sound in his reasoning on such subjects, should have allowed himself, on what appears to me such perfectly untenable grounds, to depart from the time-honoured belief of the Church of God as to the age of this book.—Tr.]

1 See the examples in Hengstenberg's Beiträge, s. 303.

and such a fluctuation is even in the Biblical Chaldee so far apparent, that we find, for instance, in the same verse, Jer. x. 11, the forms אַרְקָא and אַרְעָא.[1]

Never, however, did this corruption of the Hebrew proceed so far, that the more cultivated persons who were intrusted with the older writings, ceased to understand the documents written in pure Hebrew, or in using them fell into the most remarkable mistakes. Traces of such ignorance, recent critics have sought to discover in the books of Chronicles.[2] In itself truly a most unlikely circumstance! The chronicler does *not* write, as De Wette expresses it, "the worst Hebrew that we have;" this is a superficial judgment, which a careful comparison of this book with Ezekiel or Ecclesiastes will immediately confute. This author, moreover, is distinguished by a great or extended study of the sources; so that it is not to be supposed that he was so ignorant as the arbitrary hypercriticism has reproached him with being. The passages adduced by Gesenius by no means substantiate such a judgment. Thus אֶשֶׁל (Tamarisk), 1 Sam. xxxi. 13, is incorrectly interpreted, it is said, by אֵלָה (Terebinth), in Chron. x. 12. But אֵלָה signifies *Terebinth* only where it is distinguished from other trees (Is. vi. 11); elsewhere, especially in the later usage, it denotes *tree* in general, as in the Aram. אִילָן. The "Tamarisk of Jabesh" might as well, on account of its celebrity, be called the "Tree of Jabesh," as the Terebinth of Sechem is called, Gen. xxxv. 4, אֵלָה. Josh. xxiv. 26, אֵלָה, Judges ix. 6, אֵלוֹן.—The words וַיֵּרֶד אֶל־הַמְּצוּדָה, "(David) went up to the top of the hill," 2 Sam. v. 17, are not, it is alleged, rightly represented in meaning by the words וַיֵּצֵא לִמְנִיהֶם, 1 Chr. xiv. 8. But the passage is altogether erroneously rendered by Gesenius; it can only mean "he ascended (from the rocks of Hebron, in order to return) to his citadel,"[3] הַמְּצוּדָה, the citadel of Zion mentioned

1 Very strange, however, is the inference De Wette would deduce from this, that in consequence of such a fluctuation, if Daniel were genuine, there would be a greater difference between Daniel and Ezra. In both of these, it is true, the same fluctuation is found between different forms. But the assumption founded on that, that the (supposed) late author of the book of Daniel has imitated the language of Ezra, is altogether incredible. In this case, he would have attached himself exclusively to the old Hebrew. Who imitates with such exactness in a living and popular language an earlier writer?

2 De Wette, Beiträge z. Einl. I., s. 67. Gesenius, Gesch., s. 40, ff.

3 Comp. *e. gr.* Gen. xlii. 28; 1 Sam. xxii. 2, and just so "trepidare ad arcem," in Sallust Jug., c. 67.

vers. 7 and 9.[1] As the chronicler has not mentioned the citadel of Zion immediately before (see ch. xi.), he could not, with due regard to perspicuity, use these words here, and consequently was obliged to exchange them for another expression.—2 Sam. v. 24, אָז תִּתְחָרֵץ, "make haste then," is said to be misunderstood, 1 Chr. xiv. 15, where we read אָז תֵּצֵא בַּמִּלְחָמָה. But חָרַץ is here also in effect a military term: "hasten to the slaughter;" comp. the Arab. حَرَّضَ conj. II. *instigavit accenditque ad pugnam*.—2 Sam. viii. 1, "David took אֶת מֶתֶג הָאַמָּה, the Arm-bridle from the hand of the Philistines," *i.e.*, he brought them under his dominion, which is supposed to be incompatible with "David took Gath and her daughters," *i.e.*, the surrounding villages, 1 Chr. xviii. 1. But the former passage literally rendered is, "David took the rein of dominion out of the hand of the Philistines" (see Hitzig on Is., s. 63); the chronicler simply adds from his sources a more definite description of the thing done.—2 Sam. xxiii. 11, עֲדָשִׁים, 1 Chr. xi. 13, שְׂעוֹרִים, *Lentils—Barley*. But the entire narrative in these passages betokens diversity of sources, and this difference, moreover, far removed from containing a contradiction, is easily explainable.—Special stress is laid on the alleged contradiction between 1 Kings x. 13 and 2 Chr. ix. 12.[2] But the former of these passages has been misunderstood; it is to be rendered thus: Solomon gave to the Queen of Sheba all that she desired and requested, over and above what he had already sent her after the royal fashion[3] of Solomon, *i.e.*, what he had to give as a kingly remuneration for the gifts sent to him according to the usage of oriental princes, to which the Persian principle of διδόναι μᾶλλον ἢ λαμβάνειν alludes.[4] According to this, the chronicler has perfectly understood the passage.—1 Kings x. 14, סַלְּבֵי הָעֲרָב is in

1 This is the only philologically just explanation of the passage. Nevertheless Movers, üb. d. Chron. s. 208, has misunderstood it. The war of David happened during the interval between his occupation of Jerusalem and the establishment of his residence there.

2 Which Keil also could not explain (s. 42), and Movers reduces altogether arbitrarily (s. 213, ff.)

3 כְּיַד הַמֶּלֶךְ prop. *according to the might of the King*, a dignified expression for, *in a kingly manner*; comp. Esth. i. 7, ii. 18.

4 Comp. the passage of Thucydides in Brissonius De reg. Pers. princip., p. 525, edit. 1710.

2 Chr. ix. 14 correctly described more exactly by מַלְכֵי עֲרָב, for others cannot be intended in this passage.[1] On 2 Kings xxii. 17 compared with 2 Chr. xxxiv. 21, Gesenius charges the chronicler with not understanding the expression, "my wrath will be kindled," since he uses for it, "my wrath will be poured forth," and yet he makes the unsuitable addition, "and will not be quenched." But the chronicler understood the etymology here better than Gesenius, since he retains the חֵמָה (properly, as is well known, *heat, anger, fury,*) to which his addition suits exactly.—2 Kings xxii. 13, comp. 2 Chr. xxxiv. 21, is said to prove that the phrase כָּתַב עַל, *to prescribe to one*, was not understood by the chronicler, because he has omitted the עָלֵינוּ. But the meaning is in both passages the same.

After the captivity, several writers nevertheless laboured to reproduce a purer Hebrew. As the use of earlier writers increased, the formal complement was more closely fitted to the previously existing. So is it especially with the prophets Haggai, Malachi, Zechariah; with the later of whom hardly anything Aramaic occurs (see Hengstenberg, Beiträge, s. 372), and only occasionally traces of a later usage, such as the scriptio plena דָּוִיד, the אֱלוֹהַּ, ix. 7, xii. 5 (comp. Hengstenberg, Christol. II., s. 282, ff.) At the utmost there may be ascribed to them a certain want of concinnity of expression; comp. Eichhorn, Einl. IV., s. 467, ff.

§ 35. CESSATION OF THE HEBREW AS A POPULAR LANGUAGE.

In ascertaining how it fared with the Hebrew as a written language in the post-exilian literature, we have still left unanswered the question, How long did it sustain itself as a living popular speech? This question is different from the former, and has been answered in a double manner. Already the older Jewish grammarians, such as Kimchi, Ephodaeus, Elias Levita,[2] assumed very decidedly that the decay of the Hebrew language was simultaneous with the captivity.[3] They have been followed by some Christian theologians, as

[1] Incorrect, therefore, are the hypotheses of Keil, s. 293, and Movers, s. 246.

[2] See the passages in Buxtorf, Dissertt. Phil. Theol., p. 158.

[3] Ephodaeus, for instance, says: "in validissimam oblivionem devenit, ut propemodum illius memoria perierit praeter id quod de illa reperitur in Scripturis Sacris."

Walton, Prolegg., p. 94, sq., Dathe, Buxtorf, l. c., &c., and this view has of late found able supporters in Hengstenberg, Beitr., s. 299, ff., and Keil, Apologet. Versuch üb. d. Chronik., s. 39, ff. From various motives both older theologians (such as Barth. Mayer, Phil. Sac. P. II., p. 95, sq., Löscher, De Caus. L. Heb., p. 67, Alting, Opp. V., p. 195, Pfeiffer. Opp. II., p. 864, sq., &c.), and more recent ones (as Hezel, Gesch. d. Heb. Spr., s. 48, ff., Gesenius, Gesch., s. 44, ff., De Wette, Einl. s. 54), have maintained the opposite. It is supposed by them that the language gradually disappeared from the tongues of the people; and that consequently it was still cultivated at least as a written language, even so late as the time of the Maccabees. The reasons adduced for this opinion, which the reader will find most ably set forth by Carpzov, Crit. Sacr., p. 214, sq. Simonis, Introd. p. 33, and Gesenius, are however so far from being decisive, that we feel constrained on the whole to adopt the former view.

It has appeared to some as if nothing short of a miracle could have made the Jews, within so short a space of time, forget their mother tongue, especially as many who returned to their fatherland had been born before the captivity (Ezr. iii. 12.) But in vain is search made for any fitting moment in the post-exilian period, at which the change of language can have been introduced. The obstinate attachment of the Jews to externals, and among the rest to their vernacular tongue,[1] is so vouched for in this period that it immediately refutes such an hypothesis. For that the capture of Palestine by Ptolemy Lagi could have created such an influence on the Jews there that they "unlearned the Hebrew," as Hezel thinks, s. 49, one cannot conceive to be possible; the conclusion is purely arbitrary.—Certainly, however, it must, in reference to the period in question, be well observed, that already before the exile the Chaldee had begun to intrude, whence it is more easy to explain how, during closer relations with Babylon, this must have gained the upper hand. This is clearly apparent from the character of Jeremiah as a writer, especially from the passage x. 11. The mode in which

1 Comp. only the expressions, in which especial weight is laid on the fact that the prayer of Judas Maccabeus before the commencement of the slaughter was spoken in the vernacular language as opposed to the Greek (καταρξάμενος τῇ πατρίῳ φώνῃ τὴν μεθ' ὕμνων κραυγήν, 2 Macc. xii. 37), or the summonses to constancy (2 Macc. vii. 8, 21, 24, 27.)

the Aramaic is introduced ("thus shalt thou say unto them") shows that already this had been received as the popular idiom.[1]

With no greater justice has an appeal been made to the circumstance that post-exilian writers still made use of the Hebrew, on the ground that it is at least not probable that they would use in popular writings a wholly strange language. But just as well could these be explained to the people by the priests and the prophets as the older documents. At no time from the written language can we decide in this way as to the popular language; and here so much the less, since the affiance of the later writers to the older models is demonstrable.[2]—On the other hand, however, it is an unaccountable circumstance how the Chaldee sections of Daniel and Ezra should have been inserted had not this become the language of the people: it is not the older Hebrew, but this newly occurring idiom that needs to be explained, and this can be done only in the way alleged.

Stress is laid on Neh. xiii. 24 as proving that at that time the Hebrew was still spoken. But the term יְהוּדִית is throughout relative; as in 2 Kings xviii. 26 it stands opposed to the Aramaic, and thence denotes the Hebrew, so here in opposition to particular dialects, to the idiom of Ashdod, it denotes the language *then* spoken by the Jews, the Chaldaic. The term אֲרָמִית could not, however, be used here, because the other dialects were also Aramaic, and hence יְהוּדִית furnished the only fitting term of distinction.

In fine, appeal has been made to Neh. viii. and x., where all that relates to the public worship was conducted in the Hebrew tongue, particularly the reading of the Law. But all here is explained by Neh. viii. 8, where we read, "They (the priests and Levites) read in the book, in the Law of God מְפֹרָשׁ, and appended thereto the sense, and explained what was read." The Syriac version renders

1 "Chaldaice hic vs. conceptus ut Judaeis suggerat, quomodo Chaldaeis, ad quos nonnisi Chaldaice loqui poterant, paucis verbis respondendum sit," rightly remarks Seb. Schmid on this passage. For the assumption of Venema, that the verse is spurious, or that of Hensler (Bemerkk. üb. Jerem., s. 21, ff.) that it was written first in Hebrew, and afterwards translated into Aramaic, is utterly arbitrary and needless.

2 Cum scriberent historiam aut prophetias ad Judaeos pertinentes voluerunt uti eadem lingua, qua priscae eorum historiae et prophetiae jam fuerant conscriptae, si excipias pauca quaedam loca ad res Chaldaeorum aut Persarum pertinentia. Clericus ad Nehem. xiii. 24.

מְפֹרָשׁ by ﭘﺮﺷﺎ, *fideliter*, and so Gesenius, *word for word, exactly*. But this meaning is attached to פרשׁ quite arbitrarily; it signifies already in the Pentateuch *to separate*, to *explain*, *explicare*, Lev. xxiv. 21; Num. xv. 34; and so the Syr. ﭘﺮﺷﻎ, *e. gr.* Ephraem. Syr. I. p. 239, c., in the Talmud פֵּירוּשׁ, *explicatio* (Hartmann, Thes. Ling. Heb. &c., p. 84.) Hence מפ״ can mean only *adjecta explicatione*. But from the context it appears that this "explicatio" could not consist in the elucidation of difficulties, and practical applications, for reference is made to this specially in what follows; but in the translation of the text into the current speech. This also is undoubtedly an explicatio, interpretatio, just as פרשׁ is used in Ezra iv. 18 of the translation of Aramaic (comp. iv. 7) into Persic. Even so throughout the term תַּרְגֵּם is used for to *explain*, *express*, and *translate*. Comp. Ezra iv. 7, and on the Syriac usage von Lengerke de Ephraemo Syr. p. 121, note. Accordingly the Talmudists have already correctly explained our passage (see Walton, p. 564) מפרשׁ זה תרגום; and so also Rambach, Clericus, Dathe,[1] &c. Thus this passage clearly proves that in the time of Nehemiah the Hebrew was not known by the people, and that a translation of the text was needed by them.—On the coins of the Maccabean age there still appear some old Hebrew phrases, but at the same time with Aramaic words beside them (see Kopp, Bilder und Schr. II. 225, ff.), which consequently does not prove that in this age they *wrote* only Hebrew; this ceased of itself with the closing of the Canon.[2]

§ 36. TRADITION-PERIOD OF THE HEBREW LANGUAGE TILL IT WAS TREATED GRAMMATICALLY IN THE TENTH CENTURY.

It is chiefly among the Jews of Palestine that we are to seek the preservation of the knowledge of the Hebrew language. Though the Hebrew ceased to be even a written language, yet for practical

1 Also Nagel, in a Dissertation specially devoted to this passage, Altorf. 1772; comp. Hirt, Orient. und Exeget. Bibl. III. s. 141, ff.

2 Even till the most recent times forms of prayer in pure Hebrew were in use among the Jews, but out of mere reverence for the ancient and the holy, without the people's understanding them. Comp. Jost, Gesch. d. Israeliten III. 143, and Anhang, s. 157.

ends in the usages of worship the study of the old Hebrew documents became for them an indispensable duty, for which the affinity of the language they used must have afforded them peculiar facilities. Hence as early as the book of Sirach mention is made of the study of Scripture as the chief and fairest occupation of the γραμματεύς, the διανοεῖσθαι ἐν νόμῳ ὑψίστου, and σοφίαν πάντων ἀρχαίων ἐκζητήσει, καὶ ἐν προφητείαις ἀσχοληθήσεται (xxxix. 1, ff.) That their number was, even in the time of the Maccabees, not small, appears from the passage 1 Macc. vii. 12. Also the intrusion of the Greek language into Palestine under the followers of Alexander the Great, though it came even to be received as the language of literature, and was intelligible to many of the people,[1] nevertheless impeded nothing less than the use of the Chaldee as the popular tongue and the study of the Hebrew. On the contrary, long before the time of Christ, there flourished schools in which the study and interpretation of the Scriptures formed matter of special occupation, and which were thence called בָּתֵּי דַּמִּדְרָשׁ, also בָּתֵּי רַבָּנָן and יְשִׁיבוֹת.[2] They lasted even after the destruction of Jerusalem, and flourished not only in Palestine at the town of Tiberias, which has the reputation of the purest tradition, Jamnia, Lydda, Cæsarea, Ziphoria, but also in Babylon on the Euphrates, in Sora, Pumpeditha, Nahardea.[3] To their labours are due in part the Targums, but principally the Talmud and the Masorah. The grammatical study of the Hebrew nevertheless cannot be properly looked for in them; they were devoted rather to the deduction of theological and juridical definitions from Scripture, and the preservation of earlier traditions appertaining thereto. It is among the Masorites that the first certain effort towards grammatical principles is visible, but, after all, their criticism and interpretation does not proceed beyond the common crudely empirical and traditional (see on this ch. iii.)

Whatever elsewhere, among the Hellenistic Jews, the Samaritans, and especially among the Christians, is found of knowledge of the Hebrew language, must be referred back to these sources. Origen

[1] Comp. Pfankuche, üb. d. Palaest. Landesspr. in d. Zeitalter Christi, in Eichhorn's Biblioth. VIII. 365 [translated in Biblical Cabinet, vol. ii. p. 1], and the tract of Wiseman (who takes the just medium) in his Hor. Syr. I. 60.

[2] Comp. Hartmann, die enge Verbind. des A. und N. T. s. 384, ff.

[3] See Buxtorf, Tiberias cap. 5.

(comp. Jerome adv. Ruffin. I. 3) and Jerome, the most distinguished among the fathers as Hebraists, were indebted for their insight to the guidance and teaching of Palestinian Jews. The less any one followed them, the more imperfect appears his knowledge of Hebrew. Attempts in this department, which at bottom are rather of an exegetical kind, and during this entire period never reached to a grammatical handling of the language, belong on this account rather to the History of the Interpretation of Scripture than to our present subject.

§ 37. PHILOLOGICAL STUDY OF THE HEBREW LANGUAGE AMONG THE JEWS.

The different branches of science which were cultivated among the Jews until the tenth century owed their introduction chiefly to outward influences and events which the Jews could not withstand. The influence of the age on an almost servile people was so mighty, that it is easy to account for the lively zeal which they showed to compete with those around them in these performances and undertakings by producing on their own part something equal or at least similar. Thus the rise of the Talmud, and the formation of the Jewish jurisprudence, may be most probably traced to the influence of the Roman study of jurisprudence.[1] So also the studies of the Text and the efforts of the Masorites were occasioned by the analogous attempts of the Arabs (comp. ch. iii.) Under this latter influence also awoke the desire to rebuild the grammar of the Hebrew, and from this they were encouraged to expect fruit the more that they had before them the model of a grammar and lexicon of a cognate dialect. To the same result it was conducive that, whilst the eastern Jews lived in oppressed circumstances, and their schools decayed through the persecutions of the Muhammedans and internal discord, those of the West, the Jews of Spain, enjoyed a happy repose, had become acquainted with Arabic poetry, and found an increasing pleasure in their literature.[2] Already the Rabbins Saadiah, from Egypt (died 942), and Adonim Ben Tamim, who had laboured in the Babylonian schools, were celebrated as famous

1 See Jost's Geschich. der Israel. IV. s. 101, ff.
2 Comp. Jost. lib. cit. Bd. VI.

grammarians, though in the latter the mixing of the Hebrew with the Arabic is blamed.[1] The work of neither is now extant. From the other remaining writings of Saadiah, R. Simon (Hist. crit. I. c. 30) would conclude that he followed cabbalistic subtleties. Saadiah made the first attempt at a Lexicon of which we know anything, inasmuch as he collected seventy difficult words, explained them in Arabic, and compared them with the Talmudic (see Gesenius, Vorrede, s. 16.

An advance seems to have been made by R. Jonah Ben Chiug from Fez, whom, on this account, the Jews call ראש המדקדקים, principem grammaticorum (Wolf, Hist. Lex. Heb., p. 20, sq.) In his grammar the subject is handled in four books, and he appears especially to have established the doctrine of quiescent letters and the contracted stems. From the extracts given by R. Simon (Lib. cit. c. 31), and Morinus (Execritt. Bibl. II., p. 431, sq.), he appears to have corrected many unfounded and erroneous views among his cotemporaries, and brought them back to more correct principles. His works were translated from the Arabic into Hebrew, and lie still in a manuscript form in the libraries of Oxford and Paris.—In the beginning of the eleventh century, Menachem Ben Saruk wrote the first comprehensive, though still far from complete Dictionary (see Gesenius, loc. cit.) More remarkable are the grammatical and lexicographical labours of his contemporary, Jonah Ben Gannach (Abulwalid), a physician at Cordova. His Grammar is already arranged according to the three parts of speech, and is divided into seven books. Still more weighty is his lexicographical work written in Arabic, كتاب الاصول *Root-book*. Pococke, in his writings, and more especially Gesenius, have made great use of this, and largely extracted from it. Beside him stands by right Judah Ben Karish of Fez, also author of an Arabic Dictionary (see the extracts by Schnurrer in Eichhorn's Bibl. III., s. 951—980.) In this last-named writer we find a great veneration for Jewish tradition, especially the interpretation of the Targums, and this is carried so far as to lead to an undervaluing of the linguistic worth of the Chaldee for the understanding of the

1 Aben Esra has the most carefully enumerated the principal grammarians in his Sepher Mosnaim; see Jost, VI. s. 151, 368. The Historico-literary notices pertaining hereto are to be found in Bartolocci, Biblioth. Rabbin, Buxtorf, Bibl. Rabbin., Wolf, Bibl. Hebr., Köcher, Nova Bib. Heb.

Hebrew (see Schnurrer. s. 954, ff.) There were some, however, who went beyond this point, and attained to a more free and many-sided treatment of the Hebrew, having at their command so many remains of the Talmudic, which contains the ancient language, and the Arabic, their mother tongue. The historical connection of these was developed very well by Judah Ben Karish, who separated and combined the proper Hebrew, and what in it was allied to the Aramaic and the Arabic. So much was the comparison of the Hebrew with the dialects furthered by these labours, that it found from that time forward ever-widening acknowledgment.[1]

Passing over other Rabbinical grammarians known to us for the most part only by name,[2] we name here only from the eleventh century Jarchi, author of a Grammar (לשון למודים, comp. Wolf, Bibl. I. 1057), from the twelfth the acute Abenezra, author of several grammatical works (Wolf, Hist., p. 71), Salomo Parchon, author of a dictionary written in Hebrew, Joseph and Moses Kimchi. The chief distinction belongs to David Kimchi, Ben Joseph K. at the end of the twelfth century. He wrote a Grammar (מכלל) and Lexicon (ספר שרשים.) Still the French school appears to have always had a more stationary character, and one more restricted to the earlier tradition, as appears in a singularly spiritless manner in Jarchi (comp. Jost, VI. 243, ff.) Kimchi follows almost exclusively Abulwalid; nevertheless he exhibits an exact study of the Bible and copious collections; what one chiefly misses is, particularly in the Lexicon, a befitting arrangement (Wolf, Hist., p. 41.) His work has more frequently than any of the others been printed, as even the Christian scholars of a later period followed him chiefly and translated him.[3]—After him the philological studies of the Jewish scholars rather fell off than increased. Joseph Caspi attempted to refer the words to a common ground-meaning; as a grammarian appeared Ephodaeus (prop. Isaac Ben Moseh; the other name he derived from his work, מַעֲשֶׂה אֵפוֹד, not printed, but often cited by Morinus and Buxtorf.) He greatly praised Abulwalid, and held him the best grammarian

[1] Comp. *e. gr.* Maimonides ap. Casiri, Bibl. Escurial, I. 202.

[2] See on them Jost, VI. 152.

[3] Here is the judgment of Fagius on Kimchi's Lexicon: nescio vere an unquam liber in Hebr. lingua a quoquam mortali scriptus sit, qui eo plus prodesse possit, omnibus solide Hebraizari cupientibus.

(Hottinger, Bibl. Orient., p. 42); on the contrary, he is a decided opponent of D. Kimchi, and seems to have duly appreciated these decreases of scientific investigation. "Est aliqua huic homini," says Löscher, p. 103, "et critica propemodum audacia, neque adeo, semper ejus novitatibus habenda fides." Still greater fame accrued to the German Elias Levita (died 1549)), named by way of eminence the grammarian, and the teacher of many Christian theologians (Fagius, Münster, &c.); he enriched Hebrew philology with many valuable writings. There can be no doubt that both as respects insight into the materials, and his mode of handling his subject, as well as in the development of much appertaining to the history of the language, he was helped by his constant intercourse with Christian scholars, who, in return, received from him increased knowledge, and were indeed his pupils" (Jost, VIII. 195.) For an admirable estimate of his labours, see Löscher, p. 154, sq. His principal works are observations on the Grammar of Moses Kimchi (edited by L'Empereur 1631), ספר הבחור (a copious Grammar, edited and translated by Münster, Basel 1525), תשבי (a copious explanation of the difficult words of Scripture and of the Talmud; Lat. by Fagius 1541, 4to), &c., comp. Wolf, Hist., p. 57, sq.

The services of these Jewish scholars towards a more methodical and fundamental treatment of the Hebrew are certainly, when viewed in connection with the uncertainty[1] which before them prevailed in this respect, very important. They closely followed the Arabian grammarians, and borrowed from them method and technical expressions,[2] but they were also thereby hindered from penetrating into the peculiarity of the Hebrews; hence they seldom investigated deeply into particulars, and in consequence of their rude empirical method, often fell into mistakes. Their lexical labours are in general of more value than their grammatical, for the syntax was as good as entirely unformed, and in etymology the unsoundest principles (as *e. gr.* as to the nature of vowels) operated to their disadvantage (see Löscher, p. 154.)

[1] As Kimchi well describes it in his Pref. to Michlol; comp. Hottinger, Smegma Orientale, p. 109, from which, however, there cannot be inferred a complete decline of the pure tradition before them, as Simon and others assert; see Löscher, p. 99; Gesen. Gesch. s. 94.

[2] Comp. Hottinger, Smeg. Or. p. 110, sq.

§ 38. PHILOLOGICAL STUDY OF THE HEBREW AMONG CHRISTIAN SCHOLARS.—FIRST PERIOD, SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

With the more general study of antiquity,[1] which preceded the Reformation, and received a new impulse from it, there began also amongst the Christians the revival of a more lively interest in the study of the original languages of the Old Testament. As early as 1503 there appeared a Hebrew Grammar by Conrad Pellican (de modo legendi et intelligendi Hebraea), which the author, whilst a monk in Tübingen, and only 22 years of age, had composed without any help but that of a Hebrew Bible, and a Latin translation.[2] A much greater impulse, however, was given to this study by the great Reuchlin, the pupil of the Rabbins, whose three books, De rudimentis Hebraicis, embracing a Grammar and a Lexicon, appeared at Pforzheim in 1506, in folio. "Brevia et levia praecepta," says he, p. 550, "dabo et simul clara. Quod ante me fecit nemo." He follows closely David Kimchi. He is, however, the originator of the grammatical termini, which have since him found general reception (as conjugatio, status absolutus, et regiminis, verba imperfecta, quiescentia, &c.), and for which his classical education admirably fitted him. The Syntax is, however, imperfectly treated by him, and in his Lexicon he gives only the stem-words fully.[3]

The dependence upon the Rabbins, in which the juncture of circumstances placed these founders of the study of Hebrew, gave rise also to a Tradition-epoch with them, in which, what had been emperically learned, was in the same way retained and propagated.[4] Thus Sebastian Münster followed closely Elias Levita; S. Pagninus in his Institutiones Ebr. gave only extracts from Abulwalid, Abenezra, Kimchi, Ephodaeus, without using any effort of his own to increase or reconstruct their materials, (Löscher. p. 157.) A still further hold was given to this method, by the rise of Buxtorf

1 Comp. Gieseler, KGesch., II. 4, s. 502, ff.

2 See Schnurrer, Biogr. und Literar. Nachrichten von ehemal. Lehrern d. Heb. Spr. in Tübingen, s. 4.

3 See Hirt, Oriental. u. Exeget. Bibl. I. 31, ff.

4 Schultens has keenly and severely described this tendency in his Origines Hebr., p. 290, sq., where he concludes: et fuere tamen semperque exstituri forte tam summissi miratores devotique amatores Rabbinorum, ut ultra eos sapere recusent atque ne latum quidem unguem ab iisdem deflectere sustineant.

and his school. The Thesaurus Grammaticus Ling. Sanctae of this scholar is distinguished as respects careful collection and copiousness, and is still of great value; the Syntax also is here more carefully treated then previously; so also his Concordance; still there is a want of any grammatical system, and but a Concordance, not a Lexicon. Buxtorf's most distinguished scholar was Wasmuth, who paid especial attention to the vowel-changes and the accentuation. On the same platform stands the Philologia Sacra of Glassius, in which an effort is made to enrich the Syntax.

Nevertheless there were even then attempts made to treat Hebrew philology more independently and freely. These were, however, but first attempts, which never fully succeeded, from the want of necessary conducting principles; still the opposition thus raised was of use. So Bibliander, of whom Löscher says, p. 158, Rabbinos spernit et ex S. cod., in quo uno purum Ebraismum superesse credit, eundem restaurandum putat. In the same direction laboured in reference to Lexicography Reuchlin's pupil, J. Forster.[1] He had observed that stems formed of analogous radicals, were also allied in meaning,[2] and from this he combined much very felicitiously; still "cruda ejus conjectura erat, regulis carens et certitudinem nullam admittens," says Löscher, p. 134.[3] Between the correctness of his principles, and the carrying out of these, there can be no relation because of the want of all previous labours, and hence we must not limit our judgment one-sidedly to the latter.[4] He was followed especially by Avenarius, who for the most part blundered in incorrect combinations of the oriental with the western.[5]

1 Interesting is the manner in which he expresses himself on this head, in his Dict. Heb. Nov. praef. p. 3, "in scholis et dictionariis oportet regnare non inania somnia Rabbinorum, sed quantum assequi possumus, propriam ex fontibus S. S. sumtam significationem: quae semper praelucere nobis et tanquam columna ignis in conspectu esse debet, quod a Christianis scriptoribus hactenus non est factitatum: sed fascino Judaico uni themati duo, tria, etiam plura, et quidem dissimilia tribuerunt significata, ut in tam multiplici varietate nescias quae cujusvis vocis in quolibet scripturae loco propria si-significatio et ita in ambiguo haereas. Cum tamen singula themata unam tantum eamque propriam et principalem habeant significationem nec plores etc.

2 Radices quae unius organi litteras habent, eandem plerumque habere significa tionem.

3 See also Hirt, Or. Bibl. I., s. 45, ff.

4 As has been done, *e. gr.* by Schultens l. cit. p. 292, sq.

5 Comp. Schultens, l. cit. p. 293, sq. J. D. Michaelis, Mittel die Hebr. Spr. zu erlaütern, s. 74, ff.

§ 39. CONTINUATION. SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

These beginnings of a more rational study of language, could succeed only on the condition of their assuming a more historical character, and by thereby drawing the study of the cognate dialects within the sphere of their investigations, to direct and extend attention upon the cognate dialectical phenomena. Such a more historical tendency we find in the seventeenth century, in an interesting conflict with a philology, which aimed at a more systematic and philosophical treatment, a conflict which, in its beginnings at that time, only brought out oppositions which had to await a later period for their reconciliation. The scholastico-dogmatic spirit of the age made itself apparent in these linguistic studies also; on the other hand, partly through a stronger leaning to thorough historical investigation, partly through the pressure of its opposite, the more empiric tendency assumed a more pleasing character.

Already towards the end of the sixteenth century, the study of the dialects spread with greater life. By the appearance of Schindler's Lexicon Pentaglotton (1612), this received a new impulse.[1] Already Lud. de Dieu had in his Grammar compared the Hebrew with the Aramaic, which he thoroughly knew (1628); J. H. Hottinger also added to these the Arabic;[2] also Sennert's Hypotyposis harm. lingg. Or. 1653, is to be named here. In many exegetical and antiquarian writings of the period this method prevails, and the results to the study of Hebrew were many and great. Castell's Lex. Heptaglotton (1669) is the most valuable fruit of these labours, a work which has justly obtained the preference over all earlier works of the kind, as respects both the Hebrew and the dialects.[3]

In opposition to these men appeared Bohle and Gousset, who in a sense belonged to the school of Forster, and of whom the former labours in his 13th Dissertt. de formali significatione S. S. eruenda. (Rostoch., 1637), to find unity in the different stems, but has failed

1 Comp. Schultens, l. cit., p. 246; also Brian's Andenken an Schindler, in Stäudlin Theol. Bibl. Bd. VI.

2 See his Gramm. IV., lingg., harmonica—Smegma Orientale—Etymologicum Orient.

3 Comp. J. D. Michaelis, Abh. von. d. Syr. Spr. s. 119, ff.

principally from laying an abstract and metaphysical meaning at the basis, and this determined more or less arbitrarily.[1] Gousset has proceeded much more prudently and profoundly in the adduction of his fundamental ideas in his Commentarius Ling. Hebr. With him also the Hebrew is a sun which needs no other light; and so we must proceed with it, as we should with a letter written in foreign characters, which we sought to decipher. The context and the parallel passages, accordingly, are the means to be employed for finding the right meaning of a word. The chief service of this school, to which also Stock's Clavis belongs, consists in the closer observation of the usus loquendi of Scripture, and the merits of Gousset especially, in this respect, have not received the acknowledgment they deserve.[2]

By these efforts the end was undoubtedly reached of attaching weight to the variety of linguistic phenomena. But the endeavour at systematic arrangement was not yet placed upon the *basis* of these phenomena. The original simplicity of form and meaning can be ascertained only by means of etymology; and to this, after some little known attempts,[3] the interesting investigations of a Caspar Neumann and a Val. Löscher were directed.[4] Their attention was in the first instance directed to the *formal* conception of the stems, to which the earlier developed systems already for the most part led. Both set out from the principle that the *radices* of the Hebrew are *biliterae* (according to Neumann, "characteres significationis," according to Löscher, "semina vocum"); and that the ground-meaning of the bilitera must be evolved from the meaning of the letters composing it. Very careful and valuable were the observations which these writers made as to the rise of the trilitera from the bilitera. More fluctuating and less certain is the significatio hieroglyphica or symbolica (according to Neumann), or the valor logicus (according to Löscher), which was ascribed to particular letters, though even here there is much which is not to be

1 Comp. Pfeiffer, Crit. Sac. p. 175; Löscher, p. 133; Schultens, p. 295, sq.; Michaelis, Beurth. der Mittel u. s. w., s. 43, ff.

2 Comp. Löscher, p. 135; Schultens, p. 297, sq.; Michaelis, Beurth. der Mittel u. s. w., s. 53, ff.

3 See on these Carpzov, Crit. Sac., p. 186, sq. and 196.

4 Neumann wrote Genesis Ling. Sac. V. Ti. (1696), Exodus. L. S. (1697), Clavis Domus Eber (1712.) Of Löscher's writings, his book De Causis L. Ebr., and his Aufs. in den. Unschuld. Nachr. v. J. 1713, s. 320, ff., come under this head.

viewed as arbitrary play, and which a further pursuit of the subject, such as Löscher earnestly desired, has brought to greater accuracy.[1]

A new and most valuable impulse was given to the study of grammar by the more exact examination of the doctrine of *sounds*. It was acknowledged how little grammar is helped so long as this, its basis, is treated imperfectly or erroneously. The great merit of the Hollander Alting (fundamenta punctationis, l. s.) consists in having directed careful attention on the nature of syllables and tones, so that the quantity of syllables and their internal vowel-changes have been by him very excellently set forth. This so-called systema morarum has been since then more fully delineated by Danz,[2] and more recently by Hirt, Meiner, and others. The mass of the objections urged against it are wide of the mark;[3] what seems to be the chief error of this system is, that in it the syllables are considered according indeed to their time-measure, their quantity; but too outwardly in this respect, inasmuch as the nature of the vowels, which lies at the basis of this, was not acknowledged relevantly in the particular instances, the consequence of which could not but be, that the representation of the syllables should suffer in point of correctness. Still, however, the Alting-Danzian system retains the merit of having first constructed the edifice of Hebrew Grammar on scientific principles.

§ 40. CONCLUSION.—EIGHTEENTH AND NINETEENTH CENTURIES.

Here the Dutch school comes forward most conspicuously. Holland was already from the end of the seventeenth century a chief seat of classical and oriental learning, and from it, conse-

1 Chr. B. Michaelis, in his Diss. de vocum seminibus et litterarum significatione hieroglyphica (Hal. 1709), and Carpzov, Crit. Sac. p. 192, sq., have offered profound but not always sufficiently thorough going strictures on the so-called *hieroglyphic system*. The objections of J. D. Michaelis, in his Beurth. d. Mittel, s. 88, ff., are *fade*, and for the most part really silly. The performances of these men do not indeed deserve to be stigmatised as "monstrous theories" (Gesenius, Gesch. s. 125.) In more recent times they have found for the first time a worthy critic in Hupfeld, de emendanda lexicog. semit, ratione, p. 3.

2 See the literature of this subject in Hezel, Gesch. d. Hebr. Spr. s. 288, ff.

3 Such as those of Vater, Hebr. Sprachl. s. 12, ff.; Gesenius, Gesch. s. 124. It was, for instance, irrelevant to lay stress on the intrusion which is found here upon the *principles* of the Masoretic punctuation; see Hupfeld in the Hermes, xxxi. s. 54.

quently, there proceeded a new cultivation of the Hebrew, on which the study of the dialects, especially the Arabic, exerted an influence. As the founder of this school must be viewed, the great Alb. Schultens (died 1750), whose numerous followers and scholars, such as Schröder, Scheid, &c., contributed to the largest and weightiest extent to this department. In their grammatical labours the adherents of this school rendered service by the contribution of much that was valuable in the investigation and elucidation of details; but there was a want of systematic connection, and of penetration into the profounder laws of general grammar. Their lexicographical efforts are of higher worth, especially in respect of their etymological principles. Their leading tendency was to determine the physical ground-meaning, and especially in consequence of the paucity of the remains of Hebrew literature to call in for this the aid of the Arabic. In this way the meanings of the stems were simplified. Schultens has also in this enquiry rendered important service,[1] and in his later writings especially, and those of his scholars, there appears the one-sided aspect of this method, which consists in the too exclusive use of the dialects,[2] to the neglecting of the means of investigating what is peculiarly the Hebraistic.[3] Much was often forced upon this which was foreign to it, and this gave rise to the crowd of erroneous etymologies and emphases, which some have sought, often indeed with a learning that dazzles and blinds, to establish in the Hebrew.

In Germany the chief adherents of this school were Ch. B. Michaelis and Storr, though they paid more regard to the Aramaic. There again prevailed, however, through the undue influence of the Schultensian school, a certain empiricism, which is to be viewed in relation to the earlier as a retrogression in the method of investigation, and by which penetration into the spirit of the Hebrew was little furthered. To such an emperical mode of treatment, in opposition even to what had been before attempted, did Vater yield himself. However distinguished for careful collecting of materials, and

1 See Hupfield, L. cit. p. 5. sqq.

2 See Schelling, Vom Gebrauch der Arab. Spr. zu ein. gründ. Einsicht in die Hebr. 1771, 8vo.

3 And in this respect there is ground for much of the censure pronounced by Driessen, the principal opponent of Schultens, on his treatment of the subject; comp. Origg. p. 303, sq.

4 See the Literature in Gesenius Lib. cit., s. 128, ff.

tasteful arrangement are the lexical and grammatical works of Gesenius, they are nevertheless confined to this empirical standpoint, and they may be regarded as having served to procure for it a more lasting respect. By Ewald's "Kritische Grammatik," this was for the first time assaulted, and a scientific investigation of the language, proceeding upon the proper laws of speech, and placed upon a footing of due harmony with the historical appearance and development of the language, was entered upon.[1] His efforts and those of Hupfeld have thus once more begun to create positively an epoch in the study of Hebrew—an advance which is also beginning at least to make itself apparent in the lexical department (as in Winer's edition of the Lexicon of Simonis.)

Very little relatively has been done for the Biblical Chaldee. It has indeed advanced in common with the Hebrew; nevertheless there have always been wanting the right apprehension of it in its relation to the old Hebrew, and consequently a Grammar and Lexicon, setting out from this principle and carrying through with it. Buxtorf still remains the completest compilation of lexical and grammatical matter here, and there is still wanting a genuinely scientific and independent treatment even in the Grammars of J. D. Michaelis, Winer, and others.

[1] Comp. Stud. u. Krit. 1830, II., s. 359, ff.

CHAPTER THIRD.

HISTORY OF THE TEXT OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

§ 41. GENERAL VIEW.

Having completed our historical investigation into the Language of the Old Testament Canon, it now devolves on us to make an estimate of its external character. The linguistic Introduction having thrown light upon the way and manner in which the thoughts of the sacred writers found expression, the history of the Text must show in what form the thought thus expressed, or what the writer has put down, is preserved to us. The inquiry, therefore, is twofold; how the documents of the Old Testament found their external form in part and whole, *i.e.*, what is their palæographical quality; and in what form the Canon, so written, was preserved to us, and at the same time, through what periods (historically) the Text has passed. Thus we obtain a history of the Text ascending naturally from the particular to the general, which will put us in a position to make a critical estimate of the same.

§ 42. GENERAL PREFATORY REMARKS ON THE ART OF WRITING.

All writing, so far as it rests on the endeavour to give fixedness and duration to thought, may, according to its nature, be formed in a twofold manner. Either the thought stands forth in an outward mode corresponding to it—*kyriological*, *natural* writing; or the

form is viewed as inadequate and therefore also unessential, and there springs up a *concerted, arbitrary, positive* writing. While the kyriological writing has to do therefore directly with the idea itself, the positive writing, on the contrary, must seek a certain accommodation betwixt idea and representation. This is sound, which expresses the thought at the smallest cost of means. In this way, in the case of kyriological writing, language and writing are quite disjoined from each other; on the other hand, the writing according to sound unites the two most closely together, so far as it presupposes a determinate language.[1]

In the innermost nature of man is seated the striving after a concrete intuition of the supersensuous, abstract, ideal, in order to preserve himself in a constant relation to it, and by means of this intuition again to concentrate, as a whole, the discursive thinking. Thus especially did antiquity live in concrete contemplation; for that reason also was its simple method of teaching symbolical, and for the same reason was its writing also at first kyriological. How different soever the forms this writing may take, as indeed Clement of Alexandria distinguishes several kinds of hieroglyphics,[2] at one time faithfully copying, at another merely indicating by resemblance and again more complex in its derivation, there is still in this variety a fundamental law, cohering with the whole philosophy of the ancients, their concrete-figurative mode of thinking and speaking. The more a nation perseveres in this its ancient simplicity, and the less it comes forth and enters into social connexion with other nations, the more must it have, as its abiding property, the kyriological writing, which is too closely connected with all its peculiar life, manners, and religion, to be sacrificed to other interests. Hence, in ancient times Egypt was so faithful a conservator of its hieroglyphic writing, and only in later degenerate times allowed other writings to enter,[3] hence the strictly exclusive nation of the Chinese has so long maintained itself in possession of this writing.

Arbitrary writing, or letter writing (as distinguished from hieroglyphics) rests, on the contrary, upon a more external interest of man, his social life and intercourse, and mercantile relationships.

1 Kopp, Bilder und Schriften II., s. 51, ff.

2 Strom. V. p. 657. Comp. Görres, Mythengesch. p. 13, ff.

3 Compare the excellent investigations in Kreuser, Vorfragen über Homeros, s. 15–49, who only errs in conceiving of the kyriological writing as a mere sensuous picture, originating from the animal beginning of man, p. 47.

It is not exactly a powerful intellectual elevation of a people that is concerned in the invention of such a writing; even among the rudest nations we find at least the beginnings of this kind of communication.[1] Where the want of exact mutual explanation is felt, or where trade renders the business of accounts necessary, arbitrary written signs become indispensable in the business of life. If we compare, in this respect, the life and pursuits of the Phœnician people, so far as we can go back into its ancient history, with the Egyptian, we shall expect beforehand in the former a different writing from that of the latter.

The character of the two modes of writing being thus mutually distinct, we are obliged to reject the opinion of those who think that all letter-writing has proceeded only out of the hieroglyphical.[2] For in this case writing is conceived as originating in far too mechanical a way, and is severed from its intimate relation to the life and character of nations. But historically also it is difficult to bring proof for it, because in the case of the Egyptians it would hardly do to regard the letter-writing otherwise than as arising later through Phœnicio-Hellenistic influence; and the syllable and sound writing of the Chinese has likewise first been formed from acquaintance with Europeans who practised writing.[4] And though we grant that picture and writing are so related to each other that the former gave *occasion* to the latter (which is yet a quite different thing from the one originating out of the other), yet we can in no case go back at present to that primitive age in which the connexion took effect, in order thereby to determine more nearly the mode and manner of that influence.

§ 43. ANTIQUITY OF LETTER-WRITING AMONG THE SEMITIC NATIONS.

According to what precedes, we found in Egypt an ancient sacred kyriological writing. Though this is clearly shown to be of high

[1] Kopp l. cit., s. 66, ff.

[2] Comp. Kreuser, l. c., s. 94, ff.

[3] Comp. *e. g.* Hug Die Erfindung der Buchstabenschrift, s. 21, ff. And, though in a quite different way, Kopp, s. 62, ff.

[4] Comp. Kreuser, l. c. s. 42, 48, 283.

antiquity, little success has hitherto crowned the attempt to prove antiquity in the case of letter-writing. The investigations into the latter have as yet only led to the conclusion that it is either to be viewed as arising out of the ancient hieroglyphics or as introduced under foreign influence; and of the two opinions the latter still continues historically the more demonstrable.[1] In neither case, however, are we authorized to regard Egypt as the original home of letter-writing. Only since and through Plato[2] did it become a custom among Greeks and Romans to claim the honour of this invention for the Egyptians, partly, perhaps, occasioned by their hieroglyphical writing, which was mistaken for letter-writing, but chiefly from a predilection and admiration strongly awakened, at that time, for everything Egyptian.[3]

Historical combinations, the unanimous credible testimonies of the ancients,[4] unite in pointing us consequently to the Semitic nations of Hither-Asia as the oldest possessors of an alphabetic character. The accounts differ only in thestatement of particulars, inasmuch as some name Assyria and Babylon, others Phœnicia, others the Syrians in general, and others still the Hebrews.[5] It is not difficult to point out in the case of these nations a particular interest out of which each of them was named, whilst the individual view of the writer exercised an obvious influence thereon. When, therefore, some inquirers decide, more, as appears, on palœographical grounds, in favour of the Babylonians,[6] others, more on historical grounds, in favour of the Phœnicians,[7] others still, in favour of the Aramaeans,[8] as inventors of writing; they are hypotheses which are easily made and as easily refuted, but altogether without any particular interest. This only is of importance, that all historical accounts direct our look to the Hither-Asiatic Semitics as the inventors of writing, and that any more special view exceeds the limits of historical knowledge.

1 Comp. Kreuser, l. c., s. 45, ff.

2 Phædrus, p. 340, ed. Heindorf., comp. Jablonski, Panth. Aeg. 3, p 161, seq.

3 Kreuser, l. cit.

4 Comp. the collation of these in Pliny, Hist. Nat., VII. 56, and the interpretation there.

5 So Eupolemus (perhaps himself a Jew; see Stroth in the Repert. f. bibl. u. morgenl. Liter. XVI. p.73), in Euseb. Praep. Ev. IX. 26, and Church Fathers, as Greg. Naz. or. I. contr. Jul. p. 99.

6 So Eichhorn. Gesch. d. Liter. I. 15, ff. Kopp, II. 147, ff.

7 So Kreuser, l. c., s. 65, ff.

8 *E. g.* Ewald, Krit. Gr. s. 9.

The difficulty of this exact determination is so much greater as that information respecting the East has come to us only from one quarter, the Greeks. But these had a really historical knowledge only of the Phœnicians, the nation through whose *means* they obtained themselves the letter-writing from the East. All historians agree in this, Herodotus (V. 58), the father of history at their head, and the most trustworthy writers of history follow him,[1] unitedly relating that the Phœnicians first conveyed the knowledge of writing to the Greeks. They are also unanimous in assigning this event to the most ancient period of Greek history, that of Cadmus; the Tyrian Cadmus (see Herod. II. 49) first of all introduced into Greece, writing with sixteen letters. This account, in itself very credible,[2] and confirmed by such weighty testimonies, cannot be weakened in its truth through the uncertainty of the tradition concerning Cadmus; and even O. Müller, who in this matter is sceptical, cannot avoid conceding to the Phœnicians the glory of having provided Hellas (Greece) with its writing, though he removes this fact to times manifestly too late.[3] Those writers who take an opposite view are led by other interests from which they have conceived of the occurrence differently, but for that reason also are not to be trusted. Thus some, from partiality to Egypt, make Cadmus come from Egypt to Greece, as at first Hecatœus of Miletus,[4] who had visited Egypt itself, consequently was here plainly under Egyptian influence, since the priests of that country (as is clear from Herodotus II. 49) were very ready to appropriate to themselves what careful examination must ascribe to the Phœnicians. Through the influence of Plato, this legend acquired increasing credit, and, whilst the Conon, who lived shortly before Christ,[5] is content to make Cadmus an Egyptian emigrant, others, such as the Egyptian Nonnus, make him first of all travel to Egypt, to find the letters there, and then to bring them over to the Greeks.[6] Influenced by a different but just as intelligible an interest, the

[1] So Dionysius of Milet, in Diodor. Sic. III. 66; Ephorus in Clem. Al. Strom. I., p. 306, ed. Sylb., &c.

[2] So far as the history of the Greek alphabet on monuments still preserved to us likewise bears witness thereto, comp. Matthiae, Gr. Gr. I. p. 21, Kreuser, l. c. s. 74.

[3] Orchomenos und die Minyer, p. 115. See on the other hand Bähr z. Herod. V. 58, III., p. 93.

[4] Comp. the passage in Photius, bibl. cod. 154.

[5] In Photius, cod. 196.

[6] Dionysiaca IV. 259.

poets of Greece were led to deprive the tradition of Cadmus of its historical element, to transfer it, like the other neighbouring nations, to more remote ages, and to exalt, in this way, the national honour of Greece. Thus they named Prometheus as inventor of writing, as well as of all the arts,[1] others Hermes,[2] others again named Orpheus,[3] others still Palamedes,[4] &c. Little, however, as we are warranted with Hug, lib. cit. p. 143, ff. to lay stress on the account of the Egyptian origin of Greek writing, or treat it as historical truth, we are just as little authorized, with Wolf, on account of those embellishments of Greek tradition which proceed from a merely political interest, to cast suspicion on the account of Cadmus, which has proceeded from an unquestionably historical source.[5]

From the Greek account respecting their oldest writing we now obtain two sure testimonies for the Hither-Asiatics, and consequently also the Hebrews: 1st, That the art of writing was already known among them long before Moses, that therefore the period at which the East was in possession of it can be determined only thus far, that it reaches beyond the Mosaic age. In harmony with this, again, are the native traditions also of those nations, so far as, in giving the historical origin of the art of writing, they know only of a mythical age, in which it was invented. Hence Sanchuniathon ascribes it to the Phœnician god Thaaut (in Euseb. Præp. Ev. I. 9), and Berosus, according to Babylonish tradition, attributes a like thing to Oannes (comp. Selden. de diis Syriis, p. 265, Münter, Rel. der Babylon, p. 36.) Therefore Pliny, after citing several of these testimonies, is obliged to confess, ex quo apparet aeternus literarum usus (VII. 46.)—2d, Not merely do we find at that period among the Hither-Asiatics, that their writing was known, but also widely *diffused*, so that they impart it even to non-Semitic nations; we have full right, for this reason, to suppose its diffusion

1 Comp. Æschyl. Prometh. 439.

2 Comp Hygin. fab. 277.

3 See Euriped. Hippolyt. 953. Comp. Zoëga de usu obelisc. p. 560.

4 Comp. Wolf Prolegg. ad Homerum, p. LI.

5 Hence his conclusion is quite forced when he says, Proll. p. LII.: jam vero si oblitteratas istas fabulas jure ad poetas auctores rejicimus, ecquid accurati judicii est, uni iearum, ex iisdem fontibus ductæ (??), ideo quia ceteris celebratior est, addicere credulitatem? Herodotus in his enquiry respecting the Gephyræan descent of Harmodius and Aristogiton, goes to work in a purely historical manner (ὡς ἐγὼ ἀναπυνθανόμενος εὑρίσκω), hence his enquiry concerning Cadmus, which is intimately connected therewith, still remains the most ancient historically certain testimony. Comp. Hug, p. 135.

among the kindred Hebrews. In this we cannot be disturbed by the account of the alphabet of Cadmus, which is said to have consisted only of eighteen or seventeen or sixteen letters.[1] This assertion has, of course, found its advocates,[2] but without its being considered how the ancients arrived at it, since they reckoned and numbered the letters of the old alphabet differently.[3] The question, namely, here is concerning the letters ה and ח, distinguished in Phœnician by adding a dash, and denoted in the ancient Hellenistic writing also by a diacritic mark, or a double writing of the ε;[4] ו and ע, also, distinguished in Phœnician merely by a different position of the upper little hook, had only one sign in the ancient Greek ;[5] ס and ש early passed over into one sign (*σίγμα* and *σὰν*, Herod. I. 139.) Add to these the two letters retained afterwards only as signs of number, the ו, *βαῦ*, and ק, *κόππα*,[6] so that according to their different views the ancients could say that the later Greek alphabet has preserved remaining of the ancient only eighteen letters, &c. The more ancient historians, as Herodotus, who relate nothing of this difference, do not stand at all in contradiction herewith; the old alphabet could be viewed in itself, and then in its perfect agreement with the Semitic, as well as in comparison with the later modified alphabet, which had partly rejected old letters and partly added new, and in consequence no longer harmonised with the Phœnician.

§ 44. ART OF WRITING AMONG THE HEBREWS. ITS ANTIQUITY.

In the composition of the Pentateuch by Moses we are certainly provided with a fixed starting-point in the history of the Hebrew art of writing; but as this very point is assailed, and we are not allowed therefore to confine ourselves to the mention of that simple fact, our inquiry becomes thereby of wider compass; yet

1 See the varying statements of Aristotle in Pliny, h. n. VII. 56. Tacit. Ann. XI. 14. Plutarch. Sympos. VIII., qu. 8. Isidor. origg. I. 3.

2 See the writings cited by Gesenius, Gesch. d. h. Sp. 162, ff.

3 For this reason, the solution of this difficulty in Jahn, Einl. I. s. 329, as well as in Gesenius, s. 163, does not appear satisfactory to me, because it does not explain why these different reckonings are found among the ancients.

4 See Matthiä, Gr. Gr. I., p. 22.

5 See Matthiä, l. c. 21, ff.

6 Comp. Böckh. Staatshaush. d. Athen. II., p. 385.

we must, at all events, proceed from the Mosaic age, in which the first written documents of the Hebrews are presented to us, in order from this to estimate properly the preceding and immediately following period. Our enquiry, however, will have to be divided into three main questions: 1st, *Whence* did the Hebrews obtain writing? 2d, *When* did they obtain it? 3d, *To what extent* are we to conceive that it was used and diffused in the Mosaic age?

The Biblical records certainly give us the names of the inventors of several arts (Genesis iv. 17, 21, 22); and the traditions of the kindred and neighbouring Phœnicians, the most ancient artistical nation, coincide with them in a remarkable manner. (Sanchuniathon in Euseb. pr. Ev. I. 10.) But, as already remarked by Augustin (quaest. in Exod. lxix.) concerning the inventor of writing, the Bible is silent, a sure token that he was unknown to the Hebrews; and if the native traditions of the neighbouring nations glory in the original possession of this art, as the Phœnicians and other Aramaic nations, we may justly conclude that it passed from them to the Hebrews. This position is confirmed by two observations. (*a*) The ancient authors, such as Ctesias, Diodorus, Xenophon, recognize among the inhabitants of Hither-Asia from the most northern Aramaic branches, down to the Nabathæans in Arabia, only *one* common written character, the Σύρια γράμματα,[1] and accordingly confirm also their derivation from a common source. (*b*) The Phœnician and old Hebrew written character are so essentially one (see afterwards) that the most natural conclusion is, that one of these nations received it from the other, and we must dismiss the suggestion of any third people, in order to explain that circumstance, as altogether superfluous and arbitrary.

The close contact, however, into which, for the space of four centuries, the Hebrews came with the Egyptians, especially the education of Moses at the Egyptian court, might give rise to the supposition, that the Hebrews had got their writing from Egypt. But the following reasons are decisive against it. (*a*) It is at all events very doubtful whether they were acquainted at that time with the Phœnician written character in Egypt, which is yet in no wise to be regarded as originally in possession of alphabetic writing (see

1 See the passages in Kreuser, l. c. s. 61 and 259.

before.) But supposing even that the influence of Phœnicia upon Egypt in this respect was exerted at so early a period, still we should be referred to the Phœnicians rather than the Egyptians, as the real teachers of the Hebrews, and we could view Egypt only as an intermediate people, whose mediation again, however, would be very problematical. (*b*) A circumstance not unimportant here, is the established fact of the ancient diversity of language of the Egyptians and Hebrews, from which the two nations were quite *unintelligible* to one another, Gen. xlii. 23; Ps. cxiv. 1. Now the written character of a people is most intimately connected with their language, and it is therefore a phenomenon difficult to explain, if we make the Hebrews borrow their writing from the Egyptians; at least, the nation kindred in language must always be the most powerful in influence. (*c*) We would not appeal to the exclusiveness of the Hebrews, as a particular despised caste, in order to show the impossibility of their learning the art of writing from the Egyptians. But according to the testimony of Diodorus (I.18, comp. III. 4, ff.),[1] it is established that the Demotic writing (and to this alone as a written character can the question refer) was an acquirement of the Priest-caste, and thus very few were acquainted with it. But we are by no means allowed to imagine that the Hebrews stood in such a relation to the Priest-caste, as to be by them instructed in arts, the knowledge of which was their exclusive monopoly.

After these explanations the question may now be discussed, *when* came the Hebrews into possession of that knowledge? Whilst Eichhorn at the close of his investigations would leave the answer to this question undetermined,[2] more recent learned men have decidedly replied that *before* the Mosaic period, no traces of a knowledge of writing are found, yea, scepticism has even gone the length of maintaining, that only in the time of the Judges could the Hebrews properly receive the use of writing.[3] Yet the intimate relation, which, even in the patriarchal age, subsisted between Hebrews, and Phœnicians, and Canaanites would, in general, testify

1 Him Plato alone contradicts (de legg. VII., p. 62, ed. Bekker), but Plato's testimony here can be of no weight.

2 Einl. I. 196, 4te Ausg.

3 Comp. Gesenius, Gesch. s. 140, ff., De Wette, Archäologie, s. 277. Hartmann über d. Pentat., s. 5&8, ff.

to the contrary. At that time Zidon was already flourishing, and the Patriarchs knew the coast so adapted to trade (the shore for ships, Gen. xlix. 13.) Already we find the North at that time in active business-connexion with the South, Midianitish merchants come from Gilead (comp. Deuter. iii. 12, 13), and pass through Palestine in order to repair to Egypt, Gen. xxxvii. 25. We find a collection of their articles of luxury in the possession of Jacob, a sign how easy of access people were for those connexions in trade, Gen. xliii. 11, 12; objects of art, trinkets, are mentioned in the history of Abraham, Gen. xxiv. 22, 47; party-coloured wrought garments occur in the history of Joseph,[1] Gen. xxxvii. 3. Not mere barter do we meet with among the Patriarchs; silver is weighed and reckoned according to shekels (merchant-shekels) and kesitas, Gen. xx. 16, xxiii. 16, xxxiii. 19, a distinction which implies a marking of the money (the Phœnicians had coined money at a very early period), see Winer, Reallex I., s. 473. But if there was such a connexion in the patriarchal age with the neighbouring nations, and, at the same time, such an influence upon the luxury of the Israelites, we can have the less hesitation in ascribing to them also the art of writing.

The history of Judah and Tamar (Gen. xxxviii.) leads us still further. Among the ornaments which Judah made use of, 18th verse, appears a seal-ring. In the very earliest times consequently in Hither-Asia must the custom have prevailed, which Herodotus relates of the Babylonians, σφρηγῖδα ἕκαστος ἔχει, I. 195, and we know from the ancients the wide-spread traffic which this people carried on in precious stones.[2] This of course supposes the art of engraving; hence also in the Mosaic period, the engravings of signets (פִּתּוּחֵי חוֹתָם), appear as a matter well-known, Ex. xxviii. 11, 21, 36. But where this art is known, there is scarcely any room to doubt that, along with the existence of the art of writing, there was also its use.[3]

Add to this two other traces still which conduct us to the same

1 This is the only meaning of כתנת פסים that can be justified according to the language.

2 Comp. Heeren, Ideen I. 2, s. 208, 211, ff., 4te. Ausg.

3 How far the use of rings implies a great skill in arts and prevailing luxury may appear from the judgment of one who had a knowledge of art, Pliny, who represents them as unknown to the Greeks before the Trojan war, since he rejects the tradition of the iron ring of Prometheus as fabulous, h. n. 33, 2.

result. A class of Egyptian priests appears in Genesis, under the name חַרְטֻמִּים, xli. 8. Evidently the name is not of Egyptian origin (the derivations from this source, which have been attempted at least, have all failed), but of Semitic. We have therefore here, as in several other instances, the *translation* of an Egyptian expression into Hebrew.[1] But then it also follows, incontestably, that at that time the instrument of writing חֶרֶט (Job also mentions the iron style, xix. 24), was received into use.[2] There is also found the related verb חָרַת, to engrave, scratch into, in the sense of *writing*, Exod. xxxii. 16 (comp. the Greek χαράσσειν.)

Important, moreover, is the expression שֹׁטְרִים, comp. Exod. v. 6, frequently occurring in the Pentateuch, and likewise testifying of an ante-Mosaic age. These were Israelites (comp. ver. 15, 16, Eichhorn, Einl. III. s. 577), and the name was thus an Israelitish designation of an office existing among them. The radical meaning of this word is *writer*. Some, indeed (as Vater, l. c. s. 537; Gesenius, s. 141), have wished to derive the Hebrew שֹׁטֵר from the signification *præfuit*, because שָׁטַר signifies only in general *overseer*, *officer*. But this meaning is only a derived one, the question here is about the word already naturalized in the Hebrew, and meaning to *write*.[3] That this, however, is the case, the dialects prove most decidedly; so the Aramaic (Syriac) ܣܛܪܐ, ܣܛܝܪܐ, scriptum (Col. ii. 14; Pesch. Hahn and Sieffert, chr. Syr. p. 100, 105), the Chaldee שְׁטָרָא, scriptum obligationis, contractus (Jerem. xxxii. 10, ff.; Targ. Mischnah, I. p. 47, III. p. 363, IV. p. 198, ed. Surenhus), also, *letter*, *writing* in general, II. p. 410, IV. p. 110.[4] So the Arabic سطر, to *write*, from that, the meaning, gladio

1 Comp. my Commentary on the Book of Daniel, s. 52, ff.

2 The word חֶרֶט occurs also in the Pentateuch, Exod. xxxii. 4, but in a different meaning, a thing made of metal, a metallic purse (consequently a peculiar sort of purse, distinguished from כִּיס.) This is required by the context, and a comparison with ver. 24, and in 2 Kings v. 23, חֲרִיטִים stands related to its plural חֲרִיטִים as פְּסִילִים to פֶּסֶל, גְּלִילִים to גְּלִיל (the instances which Winer, Lex. s. 361, compares are erroneous.) Consequently that passage in Exodus vouches only for the expertness of the men of that age in works of metal.

3 Just as the use of γράφειν, even when it occurs only in a figurative sense, testifies that writing was known to Homer, as Il. IV. 130, XI. 388, XIII. 558, &c.

4 In the passages which Buxtorf, Lex. Chald. Talm., p. 2380, quotes for the meaning

amputavit (Freytag, Lex. II., p. 314), as the Homeric ἐπιγράψαι χαλκῷ, and the meaning, vana et ficta locutus est, prae se tulit, (conj. V.), as also in Syriac ܣܛܪ, stolidus (properly, to make much scribbling, and derived therefrom are then the forms referring to writing سطر, praefectus fuit, مسطر, praefectus (comp. Schultens ad Job, II. p. 1098.)

Also in Job xxxviii. 33 the derivative מִשְׁטָר appears in parallelism with חֻקּוֹת, and is to be translated, "the ordinances of heaven," the fixed order of its stars; comp. the Arabic سطر, linea, ordo, series, and مسطر, canon, linea geometrica.[1] In later times also we still find this office, and the Levites as exercising it, which likewise agrees well with the office of *writing*, as entrusted to the learned class, and we have perhaps to think chiefly on the keeping of genealogies and registers so important to the nation, which, as the most important part of their employment, occasioned their name.

Against this ante-Mosaic use of the art of writing thus proved, there is objected, first of all, the way and manner in which, according to Genesis, they sought to aid the memory by means of heaps of stones, trees, altars, &c., which we meet with elsewhere also among uncultivated nations before the invention of the art of writing.[2] But the object of these monuments is by no means exhausted by calling them aids to the memory; how is this object to be attained by merely denoting the fact to be preserved? Moreover, we do not at all know how it stood with these memorials, whether they were furnished with inscriptions or not. For from the bare naming of such a monument (comp. *e. g.* Gen. xxxiii. 20) we cannot infer with certainty either the one or the other.[3] Such a

dominatus, שׁטר stands for the usual סָטַר Hebr צר, as Dan. vii. 5. Moreover, akin with שׁטר, to write, are the transposed forms שׁרט, ܣܛܪ, ירט, &c.

1 The meaning, *dominion*, does not suit this place.

2 Comp. Gen. xxi. 33, xxxi. 46, xxxv. 7, l. 11. So Gesenius and De Wette.

3 Let attention be here drawn, meanwhile, to the monument set up by Jacob at the grave of Rachel, or pillar, מַצֵּבָה, Gen. xxxv. 20. That these στῆλαι of the ancients, which Homer mentions (Il. XVI. 457, XVII. 435, Od. XII. 14), were, even in the earliest times, furnished with inscriptions, is clear from Job xix. 24, xxi. 32 (compare Pareau de immortalit. notit, &c., p. 162), as was also the case with the primitive Greek

custom, moreover, we still find not seldom in the post-Mosaic age also (comp. *e. g.* Judges vi. 24), far too much, therefore, would be inferred from the ancient patriarchal usus if we would thence prove their ignorance of writing.

It fares still worse with the objections that are made *a priori* against what we maintain, as that the art of writing would have been useless and barren for an uncultivated nomadic people like the Hebrews, and that it is not conceivable that such a people should have been so early put in possession of such an art, and so on.[1] There lie here at the foundation commonly two wrong ideas; the one, that we are not able to conceive of the ancient simple life without rudeness and barbarism; but the old ante-Mosaic history clearly teaches the contrary, if we especially compare it with the later, where degeneracy and wildness appear, such as we see nowhere in earlier times; the second, that we proceed from preconceived opinions concerning the value or worthlessness of what the most primitive age had to record, without becoming aware objectively of the ideas which the primitive age itself cherished concerning their knowledge. The principle which Wolf laid down in the case of Homer, "diu illorum hominum vita et simplicitas nihil admodum habuit, quod scriptura dignum videretur" (Proll. p. LIX.), is a dogmatic utterance of this sort by which people will criticise and censure an age which they so little know, and whose characteristic life and pursuits they view in a manner quite foreign to it, without consulting *history*. What is gained for ancient history with the help of such *a priori* criticism, is only a caricature of history.

Our position acquires yet new confirmation by an inquiry respecting the diffusion of writing in the Mosaic and immediately succeeding age. If, for instance, we find here writing entering so deeply into the whole life of a people, as is actually the case, we must of necessity ascribe to them an earlier acquaintance with it, and we are thus in circumstances to estimate the worth of the remark of some recent writers that even in the Pentateuch itself,

tombstones (comp. Diod. Sic. V. 79; Herod. I. 93; Plutarch. daem. Socr. p. 577; Pausan. VIII. 26, 3 (comp. V. 8, 3), Philostrat. vit. Apollon. I. 24, &c. The ancients, it is well known, mention primitive Babylonish tombstones with inscriptions, as Herodot. (I. 187), Ctesias, p. 154, ed. Bähr, &c.

1 Hereupon rests principally the reasoning of Hartmann, s. 588. Compare on the other side the essay in Tholuck's Liter. Anz. 1833. No. 32, 33.

there is no reference to writing as properly customary (Vater, l. c. s. 533, ff.) We set out from the assumption that such a diffusion of writing must in high antiquity be restricted to the more cultivated part of the community, the priests; and this is exactly what we find among the Israelites. As respects the Levites, it is quite clear that the position assigned to them in the Mosaic code cannot be comprehended unless we suppose them to have been in the possession of the art of writing. To them was the Book of the Law given (Deut. xxxi. 9), and from them the king of Israel must receive it in a copy (Deut xvii. 18). Every seven years they had to read the same to the assembled people (Deut. xxxi. 10—13.) This presupposes people who could "handle the pen and transcribe important books." (Michaelis, Mos. R. I. s. 254.) Further, they were the persons by whom the right weights and measures were determined,[1] and this could not be done without some mode of reckoning; the ἱερογραμματεῖς among the Egyptian priests had a similar function.[2] The priests had also judicial functions; they had to decide according to the Law;[3] and this again most decidedly presupposes writing,[4] especially when one takes into account the Egyptian custom of holding judgment, in connection with which much was written (Diodor. Sic. I. 75.) In fine, as already observed, to them were chiefly intrusted the genealogies of the tribes and census of the people, and from this a name proper to them was derived *(Scribe.)*

To the same result, viz., that the art of writing was widely diffused, we are brought by other passages of the Mosaic books. The seventy elders were summoned by Moses in writing, Numb. xi. 26, where כְּתֻבִים stands in place of the common קְרוּאִים, consequently "conscription." That we have here a later formula in which the language is adapted to the usage of a later age, as Vater suggests (s. 533), is altogether unfounded and erroneous, for that college did not exist in the later post-Mosaic period (Michaelis,

1 As Michaelis has thoroughly proved, Mos. R. IV., s. 368—386.

2 According to Clem. Alex. Stromm. VI., p. 757, ed. Potter. It is to be observed, that amongst the ancients numbers and letters were identical, and hence an additional confirmation of our view.

3 Comp. Deut. vii. 8, ff., xxi. 5; 1 Chr. xxiii. 4, xxvi. 29, ff.; 2 Chr. xix. 8, ff., xxxiv. 13; Ez. xliv. 24.

4 Hence כתב is itself used of the despatch of judicial business, Job xiii. 26; Is. x. 1; comp. also Job xxxi. 35.

Mos. R. I. 242, ff.) According to Numb. v. 23 the curses pronounced by the priests on the adulteress were to be written in a book (בַּסֵּפֶר.) The cutting of stones (חֲרֹשֶׁת אֶבֶן, Exod. xxxv. 33) was exercised as a special art, and particularly the engraving of letters on precious or common stones (Exod. xxviii.; Deut. xxvii.); whilst, on the other hand, the engraving of idolatrous symbols (Hieroglyphics) in stone (אֶבֶן מַשְׂכִּית) was forbidden, Lev. xxvi. 1; Numb. xxxiii. 52. This shows how much the Mosaic Law itself pronounced alphabetic writing as alone accordant with its character, and contributed to its diffusion. Analogous is the law in which the bearing of the טוֹטָפוֹת, which were inscribed with passages from the law, is commended in place of the heathen Amulets, see Exod. xiii. 16; Deut. vi. 8, xi. 18. It was old custom that of inscribing the door posts; hence the command Deut. vi. 9.[1] According to Deut. xxiv. 1—4 a husband separating from his wife must write her a bill of divorcement (כָּתַב לָהּ סֵפֶר כְּרִיתוּת), the preparation of which would render the divorce a more grave and deliberate procedure.[2] Against the supposition that this law is of later origin (so *e. gr.* Vater, s. 533; Hartmann, s. 637) there are, apart from the futility of the objections urged, also the passages in which such a law is assumed as extant.[3]

These testimonies from the Pentateuch receive augmented weight when we compare the time immediately following the Mosaic, and find in it the art of writing fully known and diffused. Joshua writes readily (xxiv. 26); the blessings and the curses of the Law were to be engraven in stone on Mounts Gerizim and Ebal, Jos. viii. 30, ff.; the Israelites found in the land a city which bore the name of Book-town (xv. 15); by the ordinance of Joshua the territory to be divided was described (in writing) and measured (xviii. 4, 6, 9, see Clericus in loc.) In the time of the Judges we find already the title סֹפֵר as a designation of the officer whose care it was to muster the troops (Jerem. lii. 25), Judg. v. 14; and the account of the young man of Succoth shows how at that time the mass were able

1 See Faber's Archaeol. s. 429; Rosenmüller, A. u. N. Morgenl. II. 299.

2 See Michaelis, Mos. R. II. 317, ff.; Tholuck, Comment. ueb. d. Bergpredigt. s. 216. [Bib. Cab. No. VI. p. 326.]

3 Comp. Judg. xiv. 20, xv. 1, 8; 1 Sam. xxv. 44; 2 Sam. iii. 13, ff.; Mic. ii. 9; Is. l. 1; Jer. iii. 8.

to write.—If in this way the post-Mosaic age stands in correctest relation to the preceding, so must we regard the accounts of the Pentateuch concerning the diffusion of the art of writing as genuine—as raised beyond all doubt.

§ 45. ANCIENT WRITING MATERIALS.

As one of the earliest materials for writing, the Pentateuch mentions fixed massive objects, viz., *stones*, Ex. xxiv. 12, xxxi. 18, xxxiv. 1; Deut. x. 1, xxvii. 1, ff. Of these use was made for public ornaments, and hard iron styles appear to have been the instruments with which the inscriptions were traced (Job xix. 24; Jerem. xvii. 1.) We find, besides, mention made of *metal* as material for writing (Ex. xxviii. 36, ff.,) and of *wood* (Num. xvii. 7, ff.)[1]

A twofold error has arisen from the one-sided treatment of this and similar passages of the ancients.[2] It has been supposed that it follows from this that such materials were alone used for public muniments, and that consequently a more extensive authorship could by such means hardly exist (such for instance as the writing down of the entire Pentateuch.) The opposite is proved by the Ἔργα καὶ Ἡμέραι of Hesiod, which Pausanias found among the Boeotians written on lead (IX. 31, 4), and the earliest transcripts of the Coran, which were on the rudest materials—stones, bones, palm leaves.[3]—Of more importance, however, is the error associated with this, viz., that the art of writing, which began with these materials, did not, till a later period, bring into use other materials. So far from there being any contrariety in the use of both kinds of materials, the harder and the softer, we may with great advantage regard them as combined, nay, must assume that, where such an art as the engraving of letters on precious stones was exercised,[4]

1 The lots here mentioned were of wood, just as the ancient Greeks (Eustath. ad Hom. Il. III., 316) and the ancient Arabs also cast lots with staves, arrows, &c. (Pococke, Spec. Hist. Arab. p. 96, 329.) Homer already mentions *inscribed lots* (Il. VII. 175: κλῆρον ἐσημήναντο ἕκαστος), comp. Cic. de Divin. II. 41: sortes . . . insculptas priscarum literarum notis. Lucian. Hermot. opp. I., p. 535, sq. ed. Hemsterh.

2 Comp. Wolf, Prolegg. p. LX. sq.; Vater, s. 524, ff.; de Wette, Archaeol. § 280.

3 Comp. de Sacy in the Memoires de l'Academie des Inscript. L. p. 307.

4 Already Pliny (H. N. 37, 30) observes how hard the *ardentes gemmae* were to work.

there is presupposed familiarity with a less intractable kind of material for writing. Antiquity must previously have had to do with simple and easily worked materials; it was an advance when they began to have regard to durability of material, and at the same time to the claims of art. The *design* of the writing also would have influence here, and according as its object was of weighty or of less and merely temporary importance, would the material be chosen. This is the process of writing materials among the Greeks and Romans. The πίνακες and σάνιδες of the most ancient period (Homer, Il. VI. 169; comp. therewith Herod. VII. 239, and Bähr thereon, Eurip. Alcest. 966, ff.) were certainly composed of softer materials (as the use of them shows) than the laws at a later period written on wood and brass; by the Romans the laws were inscribed originally on wooden plates, afterwards on brass, and the reason assigned for this by Dionysius of Halicarnassus is that the former ἀφανισθῆναι συνέβη τῷ χρόνῳ.[1]

Applying these remarks to the notices of writing materials found in the Pentateuch, they lead us to assume the previous use of other and more convenient writing materials. For, exactly where mention is made of the long possession of certain written documents, there stone and metal are viewed as *extraordinary* materials. Hence the case there becomes analogous to that in which it is said of Judas Maccabaeus: ἀντέγραψεν ἐν δέλτοις χαλκαῖς καὶ ἀπέστειλεν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα εἶναι παρ' αὐτοῖς μνημόσυνον εἰρήνης καὶ συμμαχίας. 1 Macc. viii. 22, comp. xiv. 27. With justice, even were all further data concerning the writing materials of this age wanting, we might from such passages conclude, not that this was the common material, but rather that here an unusual one, such as the case rendered necessary, is intended. Accordingly, even in the case of the Pentateuch, it is open to us to enquire what material we can discover to have been the one *commonly*, in every day life, used at that period.

If we set out from the results already attained, that the oldest Hebrew writing was not of Egyptian but of Hither-Asiatic origin, we may assume from the first that there was some writing material common to this historical origin. Some indeed, as Eichhorn[2]

[1] See Ernesti archaeolog. literaria ed. Martini p. 197, sqq.
[2] Einl. I. s. 284, III., s. 10.

especially, have urgently suggested the Egyptian writing materials, namely the Byssus and the Papyrus shrub. But whilst it is not to be denied that the Hebrews for other purposes borrowed the use of both these from the Egyptians, there is no certain evidence of their having employed them as materials for writing. The marked distinction between hieroglyphic and alphabetic writing must not be overlooked here; and, besides, the more definite notices in the Pentateuch appear to furnish evidence against it (see under.)

We possess, for instance, in the first place a very weighty testimony in favour of the ancient writing materials of the Hither-Asiatics, in Herod. V. 58. After saying that the Ionians had received writings from the Phoenicians he proceeds: *καὶ τὰς βίβλους διφθέρας καλέουσι ἀπὸ τοῦ παλαιοῦ οἱ Ἴωνες, ὅτι κοτὲ ἐν σπάνι βίβλων ἐχρέωντο διφθέρῃσι αἰγέῃσί τε καὶ οἰέῃσι· ἔτι δὲ τὸ κατ' ἐμὲ πολλοὶ τῶν βαρβάρων ἐς τοιαύτας διφθέρας γράφουσι.* The only dubious point here is how high Herodotus places the antiquity of the Papyrus among the Greeks.[1] This, however, is undoubted, that he treats writing on skins[2] as the oldest form among the Greeks, whilst at the same time he represents its origin as foreign, and so introduced along with writing by Cadmus.[3] How this writing was diffused in Asia appears from the circumstance of Diodorus ascribing *βασιλικαὶ διφθέραι* to the ancient Persians; it was found also among the Cyprians, where the writing-master was called *διφθεράλοιφος*;[4] the Lacedemonians had their most ancient writings (the so-called *σκυτάλη*) on leather.[5] Thus a primitive alphabetic writing, and the use of parchment by the Hither-Asiatic nations as intimately connected therewith, stands historically probable; and hence we are necessitated to ascribe to the Hebrews also the primitive knowledge of both, and to concede their connection in this respect expressly with the Phoenicians.

This probability finds further confirmation in the old-Hebrew word סֵפֶר. This signifies properly *something scraped or shaved off*,

1 Comp. Nitzsch, Histor. Hom. p. 82, sq.

2 *διφθέραι.* See also on the word Bähr ad Ctesiam, p. 18.

3 It is to this alone that the *ἀπὸ τοῦ παλαιοῦ* can refer.

4 See Hesychius s. v. und Hemsterhuis ad Polluc., X. 57.

5 Comp. Thucyd. I. 131 and the Scholiast thereon; Pindar, Olmp. VI. 91 and the Scholiast; Xenoph., Hellen. III., iii., 8, 9, V. ii. 34, 37; Plutarch., Artax. 6; Diodor. Sic. XII., 106; Gell. N. A. XVII., 9, &c.

and was, as the Aramaic usage of the stem-root shows,[1] constantly used of the scraping off or shaving away of the *hair*. Hence we cannot concede, that the word is used of other writing materials than skins of animals. Etymology is here as demonstrative as in διφθέρα (from δέφω, to full, to curry), which at a later period came to signify *book*.

Of especial weight for our object is the passage Num. v. 23. Here it is presumed that the material on which the writing was, did not dissolve by the water, but only that the writing itself was thereby washed off.[3] In this case paper is excluded. On the other hand, the writing must have been with *ink*, otherwise it could not have been so easily obliterated,[4] a circumstance which also excludes the Byssus.—Accordant with this it is not surprising that in the Davidic age there should be mention made already of *rolls* (מְגִלּוֹת), Ps. xl. 8,[5] and it is throughout arbitrary in recent writers[6] to make this word immigrate among the Hebrews from the Chaldeans first in the time of the captivity; comp. also Ezek. ii. 9. In Jer. xxxvi. also the same method of writing is presented to us which, from its earlier traces, we must admit as the received one. Here, and also in Ezek. ix. 3, certain things belonging to writing are mentioned.[7] On the whole, we cannot detect the special steps of the progress of the art of writing among the Hebrews, and in this respect the unchanging character of the East makes itself apparent. The only instance of an exception is the mention of a *swift writer*, Ps. xlv. 2 (comp. Ez. vii. 6), from which we may infer that in the flourishing

[1] Comp. *e.gr.* Ez. xliv. 20; Acts xviii. 18 in the Pesch.; Cod. Nasir. III. p. 22, ed. Norberg; Mishnah t. IV. p. 218, ed. Surenhus.—Hence מַסֵּיף, Talm. כַּסָּיָא, *tonsor*.

[2] With Eichhorn, Einl. I. s. 183, comp. also Winer, Lex. p. 680.

[3] Thus alone can the words מְחֻיֶּה אֶל־מֵי הַמָּרִירִים be understood. They are erroneously interpreted by Le Clerc.

[4] Hence also the Talmud, in explanation of this passage, says, The writing was with ink, (דיו), Mishnah III. p. 206 ed. Surenh.—For the rest comp. the Lit. Anz. l. c. s. 262.

[5] Comp. also the verb גָּלַל, to roll together, of a book, Is. xxxiv. 4.

[6] Gesenius, Thes. I. p. 287; Hitzig on Jes. s. 395.

[7] Namely *Ink* דְּיוֹ (so called from its black colour), comp. Quandt, Diss. de דיו sive atramento Hebr., Regiom. 1713; חֹעֵי הַסֹּפֵר, *the knife of the writer*, the scalprum librarium of the Romans, Sueton., Vitell. cap. ii.; קֶסֶת הַסֹּפֵר *Ink-holder*, apparatus for writing fastened to the side of the writer (comp. Ch. B. Michaelis in Pott. Syll. Comm. II. p. 75, sq.), like the Persian, *Dewattar* (Inkhorn-bearer), Olearius, Reisebesch. II. s. 446.

time of David and Solomon, dexterity in writing was reckoned among the properties of an author, a poet, &c.[1]

We have only farther to notice an objection which has been urged against the early use of skins as material for writing. Following Weber, Gesch. der Schreibkunst, s. 62, ff., 105, Hartmann, Lib. cit. s. 637, ff., suggests that the extraordinary love of cleanliness among the Egyptians (Herod. II. 37) would render the preparation of the skins of animals impossible, and in general that, as worshippers of animals, they would have regarded this as a crime. But this assertion is not in itself correct. The Egyptian craftsmen were, as it happens, distinguished for the preparation of leather, which naturally they prepared from the skins of such beasts as were not esteemed holy.[2] But this objection is further aside from the point, inasmuch as it is not the Egyptians, but the Hebrews and their writing material, about which our enquiry is, and, as has been seen, the latter may in this respect be viewed quite independently of the former. As regards the Hebrews, there were among them "in use skins, furs, leather for various purposes, *and the preparation of these to a great degree of fineness must have been known to the Hebrews*, Exod. xxv. 5." De Wette, Archaeol. § 110. Also Lev. xiii. 48, mention is made of preparation of leather. If we assume in this case such traffic with skins as, according to Homer (Il. VII. 474), was driven, and also such leather manufactures as he mentions especially among the Trojans (*e.gr.* Il. VI. 118; XX. 276), the latter doubt will quite disappear.

§ 46. MORE EXTENSIVE GRAPHIC DEVELOPMENT OF ALPHABETIC WRITING IN GENERAL.

The changes which happen to any writing cannot be understood without respect being had to the country and people where that was in use. Writing has consequently been likened to the plants on which, when they are transplanted, climate and soil exert an influence (Kopp. II. s. 105.) Also the peculiar hue which writing acquires from a nation must, in the case of an *arbitrary* writing,

1 Similarly the Arabs; comp. *e. gr.* Abulola in Scheid ad Cant. Hisk. p. 247.

2 Comp. Heeren, Ideen IV. s. 141; Schlosser, Universalhist. Uebers. I. s. 195; Literar. Anz. l. c. s. 263.

be so much the more adjusted to it, inasmuch as it is nature itself which, in a certain degree, meets us therein. As all artistic life is peculiarly national, so also is writing; only that in the case of writing this forms but the one side of the consideration, and must never be separated from the other side, the uses, the requirements of writing. A people of little intellectual vivacity, and which yet stands at the lower stages of a higher intellectual culture, will possess only a very stationary character of writing; on the contrary, a highly developed and literarily industrious people bethink themselves of the further cultivation of their writing, nay, in such a case are necessitated thereto.

In this way a writing is improved in the first instance under the stimulus of *need*. If there be possessed a convenient material for writing, there arises of itself a readiness in writing, by which more or less the original character is defaced and corrupted, inasmuch as the principle of use is here the predominant. The *cursive* character which in this way arises displays itself partly in slighter marking of the letters, according to their general outlines and principal parts; partly in joining letters together (in writing one avoids frequent lifting of the hand); partly in lengthening or turning up the final letters with a view of proceeding more easily by a free sweep from the point at which the constraint of the conjoined writing ceases to what follows.

This *tachygraphic* principle is opposed to that which commonly comes into operation at a later period in every cultivated writing—the *calligraphic* principle,[1] in which the aesthetic interests of the writing are expressed. Such an artistic impulse finds its nearest occasion in the higher and holy destination of the writing: the religious interest produces here, as in general, the artistic: holy, and especially-revered books demand a finer, more careful, to a certain extent a holy, written character. Such a character is found, *e.gr.* in the Syriac *Estrangelo, i.e.* Gospel-writing (Adler N. T. vers. Syr., p. 4, sq.), the *Kufic* character in the Koran (Ewald Gr. Ar. I. 12.) Hereby the national taste chiefly shows itself, and the more general artistic tendency comes out more in the writing. Thus in the Ethiopic writing we find the regular figures used to be in

1 See the excellent development of this by Hupfeld, Stud. und Krit. 1830, II. 266, ff.

2 See O. Müller, Archaeol. d. Kunst. s. 15.—[English Trans. by Leitch, p. 11 — Tr.]

striking correspondence with the architecture of the people, and the same observation applies to the Gothic writing.[1]—The calligraphic written character expresses itself, in accordance with this its origin and determination, in a retrogression to the alphabet as undisfigured by the cursive writing, in a special symmetry of stroke, in the separation of the letters united in the cursive character, in new decorations and flourishes.

§. 47. DEVELOPMENT OF THE HEBREW WRITING.

From these more general palaeographic investigations, we must proceed to the consideration of the development of the Hebrew writing. To this end we must go back to its oldest monuments, and, by comparing these with the more recent, observe its advances; we must also compare the (for this especially important) descriptions of the written character, so as to be able to follow historically the chronological development.

The oldest literary documents we possess, reach only to the middle of the second century before Christ; they are the coins struck under the Asmonean Princes, the authenticity of which has been disputed, but only to be proved in the clearest manner.[2] The letters found on them have the greatest similarity and affinity to the Samaritan writing, which among this people has with great stability endured even to the latest times.[3] The Samaritans received their Pentateuch first, according to some historical evidence, only in the Macedonian age,[4] and with it also the Jewish writing, which, on this account, they have also with great stability preserved as such, as a dead property that came to them from without. This agreement shows clearly that in the 2nd and 3rd centuries B.C., the Jews had a written character which corresponded to the Samaritan now known to us, but was essentially different from the later Hebrew, and bore a stiff, antique, and inelegant character.

1 See Hupfeld Exercitt. Aethiop. p. 2 and loc. cit. s. 274.

2 See Fr. P. Bayer, Nummorum Hebraeo-Samaritanorum Vindicatio. Valentiae 1790. 4to.

3 Comp. Correspondance des Samaritains de Naplouse publiée par S. de Sacy. Paris 1829.

4 Comp. the Aufsatz in Tholuck's Liter. Anzeiger 1833. No. 39, ff.

The result attained by Palaeographic investigations is now confirmed by express historical testimony; in the first instance that of the Church Fathers. Julius Africanus (ap. Syncelli chron. p. 83 and 88) says: *τὸ Σαμαρειτῶν ἀρχαιότατον καὶ χαρακτῆρσι διάλαττον, ὃ καὶ ἀληθὲς εἶναι καὶ πρῶτον Ἑβραῖοι καθομολογοῦσι.* Origen (see Montfaucon, Hexapl. II. p. 282) collected several statements regarding the form of the ת among the Jews, (on account of the passage Ezech. ix. 4.), and one of these declares that in the old alphabet (*τὰ ἀρχαῖα στοιχεῖα*) the ת had the form of a cross. He adds in another passage (Hex. I. 86) that in certain codices of the LXX. the word *Jehovah* was written with such old-Hebrew letters (*Ἑβραϊκοῖς ἀρχαίοις γράμμασι*), and adds: *φασὶ γὰρ τὸν Ἔσδραν ἑτέροις χρήσασθαι μετὰ τὴν αἰχμαλωσίαν.* These notices are all perfectly well founded; not simply in the general are the Samaritan and old-Hebrew identical, but also the ת in particular, in which the two chiefly differ, stands in so close a graphic affinity that their earlier identity can hardly be doubted. The rumour concerning Ezra is destitute of historical value, but the statement, as respects its essential import, is thoroughly founded. From the two Fathers above cited, Jerome constructed his account (Prol. Gal. ad Libr. Regg. and Comment. ad Ezech. ix. 4.)[1] To this we may add the testimony of the Talmudic tradition. The ancient writing is called by the Talmud רעץ, *broken* and *torn* writing, a name which can relate only to the irregular and not symmetrically closed lines of the ancient alphabet.[2] This name is with them identical with עברי, the old-Hebrew writing in opposition to the more recent אשורי, and they affirm that the former passed over after the captivity to the Samaritans (Kuthites,

[1] Hence it appears incorrect in Kopp, overlooking the passage of Africanus, to set forth the expressions of Jerome as interpolations of Origen (II. s. 169, ff); still I cannot agree with Gesenius, Gesch. s. 150, and Hupfeld, l. cit. s. 283, in thinking that Jerome drew his materials in this instance directly from Rabbinical tradition; this applies only to the other fathers named. The only passage in which Jerome speaks from his own observation is in the Ep. 136, ad Marcellam, for the explanation of which it must be assumed that in his day the word *Jehovah* was, by the Greeks who were not skilled in Hebrew, written in a manner quite different from its original form; comp. Eichhorn, Einl I. 199.

2 What serves to support this view is the remark of R. Levi in Tr. Megilloth Hieros. (see Buxtorf Dissertt. Philol. Theol. p. 176), that in the old writing ה and ת were not shut (סתום). Plainly this סתום is the opposite of רעץ.

Idiots).[1] If we but consider the enmity of the Jews to the Samaritans, such a tradition can be explained only on the supposition that it was based on the undeniable fact of the identity of the two alphabets.

If now, in order to estimate aright this old Hebrew writing, we compare it with the oldest known Phoenician writing, the monuments of which go back as far as the 2nd and 3rd centuaries before Christ, we shall find a double relation existing between them. For one thing the similarity of the collective letters of both is such as to prove that the alphabets of both peoples were originally identical;[2] some letters, as ג, ר, entirely correspond. On the other hand, however, each alphabet has its peculiarities. Among these may be reckoned, that the letters in the old-Hebrew have a more angular character; some letters, as ב, ד, ע have, in place of the round head of the Phoenician, already received an angular; several letters are furnished with horizontal base-strokes which in the Phoenician are quite wanting, or are made sloping (as ב, מ, נ); letters as ו and ע[3] have received a new form suggested by the same angular character.

From this it appears that even in the 2nd century B.C., the Hebrew alphabet had already assumed a tendency towards cursive-writing, whilst in the older time it more closely resembled the Phoenician. This cursive character would be more obvious to us were it not that the old Hebrew writing is known to us only from inscriptions on coins. The Phoenician alphabet also, however, has a cursive character, which, it is true, was more especially used in the writing of common life, but which is also to be found on the monuments.[4] In accordance with this, we have to suppose that in the Phoenician and old-Hebrew there was the formation of a cursive character proceeding parallel the one to the other, yet independently in both, in the 2nd century B.C.

In any case from this, as a beginning point, we must start in our investigation of the Hebrew alphabet. For we possess nothing

1 Principal passages: Gemara babyl. Sanhedrin f. 21, 2, sq. Megillah Hieros. f. 71, 2. see Buxtorf l. cit. p. 196, sq. Voisin in Raym. Mart. pug. fid. p. 105, Carpz.

2 Comp. here once for all the table of writing in Kopp II., s. 157, comp. s. 221, ff. (also in Eichhorn's Einl. I., s. 194, 4te Ausg.), after which that given by Gesenius in De Wette's Archäol. s. 280, 2te Ausg., is elaborated.

3 See Hupfeld, l. c., s. 281.

4 See Kopp. I. 229. ff., II. 213.

which in point of time transcends the Phoenician monuments. The only thing of greater age is the Babylonian brick-work, which Kopp has subjected to an exact examination (II. 151, ff.), and which has been concluded on good grounds to belong to the 6th century B.C.[1] From this all that can be inferred is, that it had an analogous character fundamentally to the Phoenician, only it was ruder and less shapely; but from a monument as yet, so far as regards the meaning, but imperfectly deciphered, we can obtain at the best but a very imperfect idea of the most ancient Semitic writing.

§ 48. CONTINUATION. TRANSITION OF THE OLD-HEBREW WRITING INTO THE SQUARE-WRITING.

A new advance in the formation of the old Semitic alphabet appears on the *Aramaic* monuments, to wit, in the first place the *older*, the Stone of Carpentras and some coins hereto belonging,[2] and the *later*, the Palmyrene inscriptions from the 2nd to the 3rd century A.C.[3] A cursive character appears here already much more ornamented and comprehensive than in the older writing. Thus the older Aramaic writing shows a separation of the heads which are closed in the Phoenician (comp. the letters ב, ד, ע, ר), and in the later this tendency has so increased that even we find a trace of a final letter in the writing of the Nun.[4] A calligraphic principle has here also exerted its influence; the later Aramaic writing is especially symmetrical, and many letters are furnished with flourishes (as א, ד, ו, ח, מ, ק.)

To this Aramaic written character the Hebrew square writing joins itself in such a way that it appears as a middle member between the old Hebrew and the more recent. The already begun development of writing is here only still further advanced, and that not merely as a cursive writing (rounding off of the figures, binding strokes, elongation of final letters[5]), but also quite specially as

1 See Kopp II., 156; Eichhorn I., 191.
2 See them described in Kopp II. 226-244.
3 See Kopp II. 245—267.
4 Comp. Hupfeld, l. c. s. 261, ff., 265.
5 Hupfeld, s. 262, ff.

ornamental writing, whence the constant uniformity of the writing, its regular separation, and the ridges and sharp tops (apices) applied to the letters have proceeded.[1]

This palaeographic determination must be still more closely fixed historically. For the age of these Aramaic documents cannot here decide, because "the antiquity of the inscriptions is not tantamount to the antiquity of the writing in which they are executed, and there is nothing to prevent our assuming its existence one or two hundred years earlier, in the mere fact that no monument of it now remains belonging to so early a period."[2] An historical finger-post, however, we have first in the already adduced statements of Origen, Jul. Africanus, and Jerome, according to which in their time the writing we now have must have been extant; Jerome expressly describes the letters so far minutely that no doubt can be entertained as to their identity with ours.[3] So also not only the Gemara contains very exact observations, such as presuppose the existence of our alphabet,[4] but even the Mishnah presupposes it. Thus when it is said, Megillah II. p. 390, ed. Surenh., the Tephillin and the Mesusoth can be written only with square letters (אשורית), this is understood according to analogy of the Thorah. In what high reverence this kind of writing was held appears from this, that it was regarded as the most essential requisite in the copying of the sacred books, since otherwise the observance of the other prescriptions was of no avail (Megillah II. p. 392.) In like manner the old and the new Hebrew writing were contrasted with each other, and the former treated as profane (Jadaim VI., 490, comp. Bartenora, in loc.) Also from Matt. v. 18 there is proved, at once from the mention of the *Jod* as the smallest letter, that there must have been a change of the old Hebrew writing, as with it that allusion could not have been made, and farther from the *μία κεραία*, that already at that time the letters were furnished with the points appropriate to the square writing (תגין and קוצים)—for only to such can the Greek expression be

1 See Hupfeld, s. 275, ff.

2 Eichhorn, Einl. I. 200.

3 Thus he remarks on the resemblance of ח and ת, which differ from each other only "parvo apice" (ad Eccles. viii. 6; ad Oseam ix. 12), of the ג and ז (ad Amos vii. 1), &c. He was acquainted also with the final letters, comp. Morinus exercitt. Bibl. I. 121, sq., 277, sq. Montfaucon Praef. in Orig. Hexap. p 23, sq. Tychsen im Repertor. III. 140.

4 Comp. Wähner, Antiquitates Ebraeorum I. 151, sq.; also Iken, Dissert. Phil. Theol. I. 385, sqq.; Eichhorn, Einleit. I. § 114.

referred[1]—as these are given in the Talmud, Menachoth, fol. 29, 2, and consequently that already the calligraphic principle of the square writing was predominant.

From these considerations it appears that this change of writing must have taken place among the Hebrews already in the age before Christ. With this may be conjoined the circumstance, that the Aramaeans exercised an influence on the development of the Hebrew written character, since the Jews, from the time that many Jewish colonists were conveyed to Antioch under Seleucus Nicator (Joseph. Antiqq. XII. 3, 1), lived in a very close intercourse with them. This influence the Jews were then less able to withstand, as their native tongue had already, from the time of the captivity, been exposed to an Aramaic influence.

After the closing of the Canon, there arose undoubtedly a strenuous endeavour among the Jews to multiply copies of the same. That this was the case at least in the Maccabean age appears certain from 1 Macc. i. 56, 57. What contributed especially, however, to the cultivation of the present character was the extensive *church* use of it; such an origin authenticates already the inner character of the writing. We have consequently, as most fitting, to advert to the origin and progress of the synagogues, in order to illustrate the kind of writing which advanced with them. A principal employment in the synagogue was the reading and interpretation of the law; in the Mishnah we find exact prescriptions for the regular course of this (II. p. 399, sq.) That it was at an early period kept in carefully written and ornamented rolls is shewn by the manner in which the Mishnah speaks of the careful preservation of such.[2] In this way the church-life of that age produced a church-writing peculiar, but altogether adapted to itself, in which light it is already viewed even in the Mishnah.

1 This is corroborated by the fact that these decorations of the letters are used in similar proverbial sentences by the Rabbins as in the New Testament. See Schöttgen, Hor. ad h. l.

Most probably the expression κεραία, in accordance with its derivative from κέρας, is a verbal translation of the Rabbinical קרן (קַרְנָא), properly *weapon*, in the Talmud of the apices litterarum, Menach. f. 29, 2; Shabbat, f. 105, 1. Some may, however, with Iken, l. cit. p. 350, prefer the Rabb. עיקר used in the same sense; compare the Arab. عَقِيرَة of twisted *horns*.

2 See Hartmann, Die Enge Verbind. des A. & N. T. s. 253.

§ 49. FURTHER HISTORY OF THE SQUARE WRITING. DIFFERENT VIEWS AS TO ITS RISE.

Such being the antiquity of the Hebrew square writing, it is only what was to be expected, that already the later Talmudists should be without any exact information as to its origin, which was gradual, and attributable rather to circumstances than to individuals. Hence even the Mishnah enters upon nothing in the way of exact statement on this subject, but simply adduces the names כתב עברי for the old, and כ" אשורי for the more recent writing, as those which had come down from an earlier age. At length the Gemara seeks to dispel the gloom overshadowing this subject; but how very uncertain opinions were regarding it is shown by the chief passages Tr. Sanhedrin Babyl. fol. 21, 2; 22, 1. According to some Rabbins, there has been no change in the writing at all; R. Jehudah, on the contrary, assumes a change; nevertheless he asserts the restoration of the ancient writing in the time of Ezra, and he explains the name אשורית by מאשרת, beata (holy writing); R. Josi asserts its change, which he traces to Ezra,[1] and in accordance with this he intimates of the name אשורית, that this alphabet was introduced out of Asshur (Babylon) by the Jews (שפלו עמהם מאשור.) These notices are clearly such as to indicate that they are made to suit opinions; though, on the one hand, they evince the high antiquity of the name אשורית (which had become quite unintelligible to the Rabbins), they have, on the other, no greater value in themselves than much more recent ones, and must undergo a similar testing; they fail, as soon as the opinion on which they rest is proved incorrect.[2]

It is conceivable how, to the majority of the later Rabbins, the opinion of the Gemara, as to the high antiquity of the square writing, should have been acceptable, especially to the Cabbalists

[1] To justify this he lauds Ezra thus: Dignus fuisset Ezras, ut per manus ipsius daretur lex Israelis, nisi praecessisset ipsum Moses.

[2] In like manner the name for the old Hebrew writing לבנאה (Sanhedr. f. 21, 2) is another such expression no longer understood, but preserved by tradition, and the explanation of which is now hardly possible, see Gesen. Gesch. s. 145.—The later name for the square writing is besides מרבע; in the Talmud it is called also כתיבה תמה, scriptura integra, in which all the rules of the Talmud have been strictly observed. Schabb. fol. 103, 2.

who include this among Mosaic traditions.[1] Only the forced meaning of the name אַשּׁוּרִית does not meet with the general assent; already Maimonides remarks, in reference to this, that the writing is so called eo quod illa numquam mutetur neque similes literas habeat, quia literae ipsius dissimiles sunt et quia nulla litera adhaeret alteri in serie scriptionis, quod in nulla alia scriptura fieri solet quam in hac.[2] So also Abraham de Balmis, Gramm. c. 1, explains the name מְיֻשֶּׁרֶת בְּאוֹתִיּוֹתֶיהָ, rectissima in litteris suis. This conducts to the right meaning of the expression, which already has been given by J. D. Michaelis,[3] but especially by Hupfeld,[4] direct, strong, firm writing (אַשּׁוּר in the Talmud *ratum, firmum, stabile*), consequently referring to the form of the letters, like the later מְרֻבָּע quadratus, and the Arab. مسند, stable, columnar writing, as opposed to the old writing רַעַץ, ragged, broken, irregular writing.

To harmonize the mention of two kinds of writing in the Talmud, several Rabbins assume, not being able to come at the understanding of an historical development of the writing, that two sorts of writing, a sacred and a profane, existed simultaneously. Thus Bartenora ad Mishn. Jadaim c. 4, 5, R. Gedaliah in Schalsheleth Hakabbah 89, 1, &c., see Hartmann Ling. Einl. s. 22, ff. To this view many Christian scholars have assented (as Postellus, Fuller, &c.), as in this way they thought they could best, at least efficiently, vindicate the antiquity of the square character on historical grounds. This hypothesis was most fully constructed and raised to respect by the younger Buxtorf in his Treatise de Litterarum Hebraic. genuina antiquitate, and with him most of the literati of the 17th century agreed.[5] Nevertheless, already in the 15th century this opinion had found opponents. R. Jos. Albo in his Sepher Ikkarim, 3, 16, asserts a change adopted by Ezra with the old-Hebrew writing, and since in this way the security of the Textus receptus was rendered very doubtful, this view was embraced by not only the most of the Catholic

1 Comp. Buxtorf in l. c., p. 178, sqq.
2 Ad Mishnam t. VI., p. 490, ed. Surenhus.
3 Orient. Bibl. XXII. s. 133.
4 Lib. cit. s. 296.
5 See for particulars Carpzov crit. sac. p. 227, sq.

scholars, but also chiefly by Buxtorf's opponent, L. Capellus (diatribe de veris et antiq. lit. Ebr., Amstelod. 1645), whom many followed, because here to the historical controversy a critical, and to this again a dogmatical significance was ascribed.[1]—A middle course has been adopted by more recent scholars, as Gesenius, Gesch. s. 156, ff., by whom the story of Ezra is regarded as having a basis in truth, in so far as the square writing came to the Hebrews at that time, and from Babylon, was used by them, and yet in the time of the Maccabees the older Hebrew writing was not quite superseded. Hartmann (Ling. Einl. s. 28, ff.) decides in favour of a double writing which existed among the Hebrews from an early period, a holy writing and a profane, and he seeks in this way to justify the continuance of the square writing with the writing on coins. Of all these opinions one can say altogether with De Wette (Archaeologie, s. 290), that they now possess only historical mark-worthiness. For since a more attentive observation has been bestowed on the square writing in its relations to the older Hebrew and other cognate writings, each hypothesis has, through Palaeography, been cut off from success. Kopp has the great merit of having first opened a thorough palaeographic investigation of this subject, in which he has been followed by Eichhorn, Hupfeld, and Ewald (Hebr. Gr., s. 49, ff. 2te Ausg.), who have carried it greatly forward.

§ 50. THE SQUARE WRITING ON MONUMENTS.

The monuments for this are certainly very recent; they are manuscripts of which none can be held older than the 11th century. From this it can hardly be concluded that these MSS. were preceded by others with very different kind of strokes, on account of the firm character of the writing, and on the whole no history of the Heb. square writing can be gathered from them. The prescriptions of the Talmud we find most carefully observed in the Synagogue rolls (Eichhorn, Einl. II. § 345.) With more of freedom have the writers of the other MSS. proceeded, though even here the departure is connected with difference of country, and has been by no means

[1] See Carpzov, l. c. p. 232, sq.

yet adequately described as respects its essence and character.[1] The Jews themselves distinguish in the Synagogue rolls between an Italian (*Waelsh*) character (כתב וועלש), used by the Spanish and eastern Jews, and the Tam-writing received by the German and Polish Jews. The chief distinction appears to consist in the different form of the Coronaments (תגין.) The latter appellation is said to be derived from a grandson of Raschi Tam; but probably its origin is in a misunderstanding of the old (already noticed) talmudic appellation כתיבה תמה (Schabb. f. 103, 2), which finds elsewhere in the Talmud its proper explanation in "Books written according to the rule" (כתובים כהלכתן, Gittin, f. 45, 2.)[2]

What occurs elsewhere as a departure from the square character is not at all fitted to serve for a history of the same. It is only the product of carelessness, arbitrariness, and want of dexterity. Such, for instance, is the alphabetum Jesuitarum communicated by Montfaucon, written by a Greek calligrapher, which contains nothing else than disfigurations and distortions of the square character, so that the same consonant appears again and again in a different form.[3] The same is the case with other alphabets communicated by Treschow, or the so-called alphabet of Rabanus Maurus, containing letters which are clearly monstrosities, and which are for Paleography as good as utterly worthless.[4]

In the middle ages there was formed from the square character a current hand, the rabbinical writing, in which also some (but very recent) biblical codices, but not properly biblical manuscripts, are written. It bears the names כתיבה קטנה (scriptura parva), and משקט, the meaning of which name is obscure.[5] In this also differences are to be discerned belonging to different countries.[6]

1 Comp. Jahn Einl. I. s. 433, ff., and the Literature in De Wette's Einl. § 111, d.

2 See O. G. Tychsen, tentamen de variis codd. Hebr. V. T. man. generibus p. 347, sq. Hupfeld, l. c. s. 278.

3 Comp. Kopp, l. c. s. 275; Hupfeld, s. 288.

4 Comp. Kopp, s. 273, 274, Eichhorn, Einl. II. 481.

5 Comp. Buxtorf, Lex. Chald. Talm. p. 2513; Reland Anal. Rabbin. p. 15, sq.

6 Comp. Tychsen, tentamen p. 313, sq.; Bellermann de Palaeograph. Hebr. p. 44.

§ 51. APPENDAGES TO WRITING. VOWELS.[1] PERIOD OF THE LIVING LANGUAGE.

The question concerning the appendages to writing, depends most intimately on this :—was the old Hebrew alphabet merely a consonantal writing (or a syllable-writing), or did it comprehend consonants and vowels alike in it? This question may be answered partly in an a priori philosophic, partly in a grammatico-analytic, and partly in an historico-combining way. In the outset it may be said that a syllabic writing, in the case of an otherwise completely constructed alphabet, has something strange in it; if a writing has reached the point (as a sound writing) of representing and forming the particular sounds with such exactness, it is highly probable that there was a like analysis of the vowel sound. Certainly, in reference to the latter a simple and as yet but commencing writing may permit abbreviations or omissions in cases where nothing essential is involved, conceiving in its inner unity the consonant with its vowel-sound as one necessarily connected whole; but this assumes the insertion of only the nearest and simplest vowel-sound, not at all the complete absence of these from the writing.

What supports this is, that as soon as we conceive the Hebrew alphabet in its grammatical analysis, we find that it certainly acknowledges its special sign for the ground-vowel *a*, because it is the root and the stem of all the rest, the nearest and the most original. On the other hand, the two other ground-vowels *i* and *u* have already found their distinctive marks, partly on account of their inner relation to the *a* sound, partly on account of their relation to the consonants, to which they form the transition.[2] A strict grammatical observation of the letters ו and י shews their original destination as vowels, and the old writing placed them for the original pure sounds *i* and *u* as well as for the mixed sounds *e* and *o*.

1 In keeping with our theme we treat this subject also only in its historical phenomena; the internal arrangement and development of particulars belongs to grammar.

2 Comp. Böckh on the passing of letters into each other, Studien von Daub und Creuzer IV. 376, ff. Hupfeld, Exercitt. Aethiop., § 3, in the Hermes Bd. XXXI., s. 16, ff., and in Jahn's Jahrb. f. Philol. und Paedegog. 1829, I. 451, ff., Ewald, Gr. § 142, ff., 2te Ausg.

With this internal observation of the language concurs also the combination of the Semitic dialects. To this simple condition of the vowels in the Hebrew writing a remarkable analogy is furnished primarily by the Ethiopic, in which also the letters Wawe and Jaman are to be viewed as the only original vowel-signs; and so likewise have the Arabic and the Syriac preserved this mode of writing with great constancy.[1]

Now of this old and simple vowel-system it must be said, that it does not appear as one regularly carried through in the Hebrew documents, but its usage was, on the whole, slight and unfrequent. The writing does not here appear to have been developed pari passu with the language, and there has thereby remained an ambiguity in the former which only could be corrected and compensated by the definiteness of the living speech. Hence in the later books of the Old Testament there is an evident advance in the development of the writing, inasmuch as the so-called scriptio plena is here much more extensively used, and so the writing indicates clearly an effort after greater distinctness. A very remarkable testimony in this respect is furnished by the Samaritan Pentateuch, in which this vocalisation is already very decidedly adopted.[2] Of weight also here are the Jewish coins of the Maccabean age, as on them we find the same vocalisation, though in this species of inscription the greatest parsimony in the use of vocalisation was to be expected.[3]

§ 52. VOCALISATION OF THE LXX. AND OF ORIGEN.

The simple vowel-system is closely connected with the original simpler formation and flexion of the words; as this appears most clearly by the comparison of the Dialects, in relation to which the Hebrew vocalisation is the most complicated, and for all grammatical relations the most distinctly marked, it is shown satisfactorily how the old writing was content with that sparing notation of the vowels.[4] To this simpler vocalisation, which is more nearly allied

1 See Ewald, Gr. Arab. § 75, sq.
2 Gesenius, de Pentat. Samarit., p. 16, 53, 54.
3 Kopp, l. cit. II., 112 and 124.
4 Comp. Hupfeld in the Hermes, S. 21, 22.

to that of the Dialects, that of the LXX. also inclines, a monument of great importance in this case, since it indicates the further formation which the later vowel-system has experienced, and at the same time its traditional rise as thoroughly independent, and complete in itself. This unity in the vocalisation system of the LXX. has long been acknowledged,[1] though it has not been adequately estimated as to its rise, inasmuch as this can be known only by a reference to the nature of the language and the vowel-sounds.[2]

Thus there appears here the not-completed contraction of the diphthongs *ai* and *au* into *e* and *o*: *Αιλαμ* (עֵילָם), *Θαιμαν* (תֵּימָן), *Γαυλων* (גּוֹלָן), *Ναβαυ* (נְבוֹ), &c. Exactly the same appears in the Dialects. They change the vowelless Jod in the beginning of a word into a pure vowel-sound, as יְדוּתוּן into *Ιδουτουν*, as in the Syr. ܝܕܘܬܘܢ for ܝܕܘܬܘܢ.[3] In place of the Chirek, which with great constancy the Masorites assume as an auxiliary vowel, they have, like the Dialects, the original fuller A-sound; comp. *Μαδιαν* (מִדְיָן), *Σαμψων* (שִׁמְשׁוֹן), and only occasionally has this passed into another sound (as *Κεδρων*, קִדְרוֹן). So also in the Segolate forms the original *a* frequently appears, as in the Hebrew only in the Pause, as *Αβελ*, *Ιαφεθ*, *Λαμεχ*.[4] The sheva mobile appears here also, according to its origin, as a fluctuating A-sound (as in *Σαμουηλ*, *Ζαβουλων*), as also in the Arabic.[5] That the assimilation of vowels is in general much more extensive here than in the more recent vowel system is proved by examples, such as *Σοδομα*, *Σολομων*, *Γομορρα*.[6] It has not been noticed that there is a tendency of the guttural to the A-sounds, and hence especially the Patach furtivum is often expressed by a single *e*.

The same vocalisation is found also in the Hexapla of Origen,[7]

1 Comp. *e. gr.* Hiller, Onomast. Sac. p. 706, sqq. Gesenius, Gesch., S. 191, ff.

2 Hence also the opinion, that in this vocalisation only a provincial variety of the old Hebrew occurs, appears erroneous (Gesen. Lehr. s. 33; Gesch. d. h. Spr., s. 208), to say nothing of the utterly unhistorical basis on which it rests.

3 Comp. Michaelis, Lum. Syr., § 8.

4 Comp. Hupfeld, l. cit., s. 48.

5 Comp. Hupfeld, s. 53.

6 Comp. Hupfeld, s. 39.

7 Comp. Montfaucon, Orig. Hex. II., p. 397, sq. Gesenius, Gesch. s. 199.

though there are here some approximations to the later. Thus *e. gr.* there appears as an auxiliary vowel already much more frequently *e* instead of *a* (דֶּמְעָה, δεμα, גֶּבוֹר, γεββωρ), which forms and indicates the trasition to the thinner *i*.

§ 53. JEROME AND THE TALMUD.

A noticeable advance from this vocalisation towards the present appears in the writings of Jerome. In general the earlier original and simple has already assumed an artificial and very definite character. Thus it is worthy of notice how Jerome already indicates acquaintance with the Segolate forms according to the present vocalisation, and hence writes always *deber*, *reseph*, &c., whilst in the earlier authorities the original form of these nouns, as *καρν* for קֶרֶן, is found (see Gesenius, l. cit. s. 200.) Since Jerome frequently finds occasion to cite exactly the vocalisation of the text, where the translations adduced by him differ from each other, it appears that in general the exact form presents a vowel-construction concurrent with that now in use; *e. gr.* when he says that מים may be read *mijam* or *majim* (ad Hos. xi. 10); ארבה, *arbe* or *aruba* (Hos. xiii. 3); שעירים, *searim* or *seorim* (Gen. xxvi. 12), &c.

It follows certainly from this that the Jews of that period, by whose instruction Jerome was guided, had already adopted as their own the vowel-pronunciation which now prevails. The decisiveness also with which he in particulars follows the extant reading according to the vowels, show show firmly settled in particulars the vocalisation of the rabbinical tradition in his time was, since he could not permit himself to depart from it. Compare *e. gr.* Ep. ad Damasum Qu. 2, where he, in defending the (extant) reading, חֲמֻשִׁים, Exod. xiii. 18, says, "omnis Judaea conclamat et synagogarum consonant universa subsellia."[1]

On what are called the quiescent letters, Jerome expresses himself so that one sees he holds ו and י certainly for vowels; this is evident from the passages quoted by Capellus;[2] for he says, "Vav

1 See hereon more in Hupfeld, Stud. u. Krit. 1830, H. 3, s. 583, ff.
2 Arcanum punctuationis revelatum, p. 68.

litera quae apud Hebraeos pro O legitur," and "quum vocalibus in medio literis perraro utantur Hebraei" (by which only the writing with a Jod can be intended). Of א and ע he further expresses himself so that he also calls them vocales literae, an expression, however, which he uses as identical with "aspirationes" (gutturals), from which it appears that he understood thereby a class peculiar to the Hebrews, consisting of especially weak letters.[1]

That Jerome, however, was acquainted with special *reading signs*, or with our present *vowel signs*, must be very decidedly denied. Not only is there no express mention of these anywhere in his writings, but he, besides, describes the words generally simply according to their consonants, and calls this, *scriptum, scribitur;* whilst the vowels he designates by the expression *lectum, legitur*, clearly enough in this way discriminating the *pronunciation* from what appeared in the writing as the substance or basis thereof, the consonant. When he expresses himself decidedly of the former, he is determined thereto, partly by the context, partly by those translations which adhere closely to the text (Aquila, Symmachus, Theodotion), but especially by the rabbinical tradition of which he was in possession, and on which he depended so much in his judgments respecting the details of the canonical text, as well as respecting the canon in general (see above ch. i.).[2] The term "*accentus*," sometimes taken in the sense of reading signs, is to be referred, according to the Greek and Latin usage of the grammarians, wholly and alone to the *pronunciation* of the vowels and some consonants (hence accentus = soni, Ep. ad Evagr. 125), as also to the marks by which this was indicated in writing.[3]

This is, however, at the same time the reason why Jerome, in reference to the vowel-pronunciation of a word, not unfrequently fluctuates, despite his adherence to the Jewish tradition, nay, frequently not only speaks of the *ambiguitas* of the words (see Ep. ad. Damasum 125), and imputes error on this ground to the older translators as "verbi ambiguitate decepti," ad Jes. xxiv. 3), but himself even against the traditional vocalisation arrives at an erroneous

1 See Jahn, Einl. I. 836, 337, and on ע Gesenius, Lehrg. s. 20.

2 See the minuter proof of this in Hupfeld, l. c. s. 571, ff.

3 See Hupfeld, s. 580, ff. [See also Kitto's Journal of Sacred Literature, No. VI. p. 287.—Tr.]

conclusion, because he had lost the form on which it depended, and his knowledge of tradition did not suffice to supply it.[1]

The best help for the just estimation of Jerome and his position in relation to tradition and the written text is furnished by the Talmud. In the Talmud also appears a very firm traditional basis for the text as respects its vowels no less than the consonants. The vocalisation of the Talmudists is a throughout consistent whole, essentially belonging to the text, whose meaning consequently is also simpler and more literal, according to the adage אין המקרא יוצא מידי פשוטו nunquam scriptura, (*i.e.*, the ecclesiastically acknowledged, the received canonical text,) egreditur e simplicitate sua; comp. Buxtorf Lex. p. 2117. Unimpeachable, however, as this text is, it is nevertheless subject, according to Talmudic notions, to the most diverse interpretations, for the purpose, by means of them, of supporting and elucidating a great multitude of new statutes and arrangements. Hence they use the ecclesiastically constituted text in such a way that they allow themselves the most diversified alterations of it, without, however, in any way casting disrepute on its proper constitution. For our present object, the vocalisation of the text, there are in this respect two modes of textual variations of weight; in the first place, when a biblical sentence had to be adduced as a simple help to the memory, which does not, according to its proper reading, suit for this, it was altered, and that principally in the vocalisation, a method which is constantly denoted by the formula אל תקרי כן אלא כן ("read not so, but so"), *e. gr.*, שמות for שמות (Ps. xlvi. 9), Berachoth fol. 7, 1;[2] and in the second place, even where an actual argument, not a mere auxiliary reason,[3] had to be delivered (ראיה), the text was altered as far as respects the vowels, without, however, regarding the critical merits of the case, and the Rabbins who were involved in a controversy decided either for the textual reading or for the altered reading (מסורת.) The former method is designated אם למקרא,

1 See the passages in Morinus, le Ling. primaeva, p. 403, sq. Hupfeld, s. 585, ff.

2 Comp. hereon Maimonides, More Nevochim iii. c. 42 p. 473. Buxtorf (Arabic in Hottinger Thes. Philol. p. 214), and after him Buxtorf, Tib. c. 9. Buxtorf fil. de punct antiq. et orig. p. 97, sqq. Wagenseil, ad tr. Sotah p. 68. Surenhus. βιβλ. καταλλ. p. 41. sq. Wähner, Antiqq. Heb. I. § 212. Hupfield, l. c. S. 555 s.

3 אסמכתא, fulcimentum, adminiculum (סמך), what only reminds of something (זכר לדבר). Comp. Cocceius ad Tr. Sanhedr. p. 81.

(determination according to the text), the latter אם למסורת (determination according to the received reading.)[1]

In both cases it is quite evident how on the one hand the Talmud presupposes the most definite vowel-*pronunciation*, and proceeds on this as the basis of its argumentation, whilst on the other there must have been a total absence of vowel-*signs*, for the ordinances introduced through the difference of the *Mikra* and the *Masoreth* could have had no existence had not the non-vocalised text afforded free scope for these diverse explanations of the text. Thus it must be decidedly denied that there are any traces of vowel-signs in the Talmud. The passages in which טעמים are mentioned (Megillah Hieros. fol. 75; Nedarim Babyl. fol. 37; Berachoth fol. 62, 2), cannot relate to this, for both the expression and the context lead us to the signification of *position*, *sententia*, and thus it is only of pauses in the reading, points of division that the passages speak, what the Mishnah simply calls פיסוקים (Megillah c. 4.)[1]

§ 54. THE VOWEL SIGNS OF THE MASORETES.

Our investigations hitherto have landed us in the simple negative result that we must regard the Talmud as having been completed before the vowel-signs were introduced. This period, occupied alone with the further extension of the law, could not attend to these, and needed not such aids, which would have been only impediments to the reaching of its objects, and troublesome. In it the maxim laid down in the Tr. Gittin fol. 60, would be held fast with great tenacity, that the written word must not be taught orally, and as little, conversely, the traditional (דברים שבעל פה) in writing. This prohibition comprehends consequently all that falls under the head of *external appendage* to the written letters (not the determinations deduced by conclusions and argumentations from them), since, full of superstitious reverence for them, they would not venture to defile them with aught foreign.

But a twofold circumstance contributed to give this opinion another direction, and not only occasioned the marking of the vowels, but also gave rise to their appearing under their present forms.

1 Thus the difference regarding the common eating of the Paschal lamb, Pesachim fol. 86, 1, 2, rests on the difference between the readings יאכל and יאכל, Exod. xii. 46.

2 See Hupfeld, s. 565. De Wette, Einl. §. 77.

1. On the closing of the Talmud there arose among the Jews a new sort of literary activity, which sought to illustrate the ancient holy text, by appending to it *in writing* whatever could contribute to its more exact determination, or to the exposition of its meaning. Thus what at an earlier period appeared as a prohibition, came now, "through the pressure of circumstances,"[1] to be sanctioned; and the Masoretes, who were striving for this object, saw themselves necessitated, on account of it, to note exactly also the pronunciation of each word. In the Talmud this was expressly assigned to tradition, and consequently was not marked, at least was not denoted by anything appended to the text.[2] The Masoretes, however, noted this as well as other closer determinations of the text in the Talmud;[3] and so retained to the minutest part the old traditions in writing. The procedure of the Masoretes, in regard to the vocalisation, is consequently not at all arbitrary, but must be viewed as strictly regulated by adherence to the tradition handed down to them.

In this way the vowel-signs, as appendages to the writing, stand closely connected with the Masoretic marginal remarks or glosses.[4] Hence, whilst the ancient text was conscientiously perpetuated, without any appendages (the *Ketib*), the marginal reading received its closer determination by the vowel-signs (the *Keri*.) Hence the points must constantly be read in connection with the marginal reading. On this account also it was impossible that before the rise of the Keri a written vocalisation could so much as be thought of; and so, as soon as tradition ceased to manifest vitality, and the materials preserved by it had to be transmitted along the path of the dead, the pronunciation of the words must have appeared as that which most urgently required to be determined in writing.— As, however, these appendages to writing were ever regarded as something foreign, and not belonging to the text, it was only

[1] As the Rabbins, by way of excusing themselves, express it; comp. Buxtorf, de antiq punct. p. 42, sq.

[2] Comp. Nedarim Babyl. fol. 37, 2, where the מקרא סופרים is expressly referred to the pronunciation of the words (whether to read ארץ *arez* or *erez*, מצרים *mizraim* or *mizrim*) and this is ascribed to tradition (הלכה למשה מסיני), comp. Wähner, Antiq. Heb. I. § 210.

[3] Which consequently are also joined with the Mikra Sopherim, Tr. Nedar. l. cit. See Buxtorf, Tiberias, p. 40, sq.

[4] See Ewald, Gr. s. 60, 2te Aufl.

natural that manuscripts, destined for private use, should be furnished with them. The Synagogue rolls, as the sacred manuscripts, destined for ecclesiastical use, could not admit of vowels;[1] for the model after which they were to be written was already prescribed in the Talmud as an unalterable standard.[2]

2. As the textual studies of the Masoretic period in the general were stimulated by the external condition of the Jews, and especially their contact with the Arabs and Syrians, it is most probable that it is to this source that the vocalisation owes its rise. For the Hebrew vowel-system, as respects its philological side, stands connected with that of these two peoples, and is to be viewed as a further development, having peculiarities of its own, but proceeding from this.[3] Now, since the Syrians and Arabians can be proved to have already had a vocalisation in the seventh century, there is a probability of an historical connection in this respect between them and the Jews. For whilst at that time talmudic learning and a number of distinguished Rabbins flourished in the Babylonian schools,[4] these studies gradually died out of those in Palestine; and especially in Tiberias, which was already famous among the oldest Jewish grammarians, on account of its pure and graceful pronunciation of the Hebrew,[5] the studies assumed specifically, under Syrian influence, a direction towards grammar and the text.

A vowel notation constructed in this way cannot be regarded as the work of one man, or of a short time; the analogy of the vocalisation with which it is allied, suggests a gradual rise of it. We can seek in outward relations only the commencement and first impulse to this business; the proper progressive formation is to be viewed as an independent effort of the Masoretes. This, however, consists in nothing else than in a progressively exacter determination

1 Hence it is said in Schulchan Aruch: "A pointed roll is profane (מסורס), even after the points may have been removed from it." See Buxtorf de Ant. p. 40, sq., in relation to which the reason of R. Bechai, that the pointed text contains only one (the literal) sense, the unpointed, on the contrary, a plurality of senses (Buxtorf, p. 46), is worthy of notice.—That the Karaites form an exception in this respect is probable, but as yet not historically certain; see O. G. Tyschen, in the Repertor, III. s. 103.

2 For the same reason also among the Syrians and Muhammedans the opposite prevailed, since with them the pointed text itself was established as the canonical.

3 See Hupfeld, l. c. 4, s. 785, ff.

4 Comp. Hottinger, Histor. Eccles. N. T. I. 421, sq., 528, sq., 660, sq.

5 Comp. Buxtorf de antiq. punct. p. 23, sq.

of the sound, with a view of denoting its finest shades [*nuances*]; an attempt which must lead to a continual progress as soon as it is entered on. Of weight in this respect is the testimony of Jewish grammarians, who refer the whole vowels to three ground-vowels (מוסדים), namely, to three Arabic vowels *a*, *o*, *i*.[1] In the book Cosri (II. § 80, p. 143, ed. Buxtorf), there appear even the *Arabic names* for these, namely, פתיחה (Patach, Fatha), קמוץ (*i.e.* compressio, contractio oris, the Arab. Damma, Heb. Cholem), שבר, (*i.e.* fractio oris, the Arab. Kesre, Heb. Chirek.) It appears according to this that at that time, not only the gradual rise of the system was known, but also its foreign origin.

In our MSS., we cannot, however, follow out this gradual progress of punctuation, and the same is true of the Syriac and Arabic. For whilst in some codices there appears a certain incompleteness or want of agreement in respect of this,[2] the reason of this lies in the overloading of the system with marks, application of which was attended with much difficulty, so that much always depended on the care and skill of the transcriber. The completed system of our vowels appears rather in all known codices as one already received, and hence we are referred to the 11th century as the period when this vowel-notation had reached its present condition. The grammarian Judah Chiug, in the 11th century (see § 37), was already acquainted with the seven vowels now in use; it is even probable that R. Saadias speaks of them.[3] The revisions also of the text, undertaken by Ben Ascher and B. Naphtali, in the 11th century, presuppose the vocalisation as already existing for a longer period, for they are restricted to vowels and accents (see on this more afterwards.) We may, therefore, most safely place the completing of the existing punctuation in the epoch between the 7th and 10th century.

Obs. closely connected with the punctuation are the other reading marks, the *accents*, inasmuch as they indicate more exactly the correct *pronunciation* of a word or a clause, and are consequently to be regarded as only an extension of the vowel-system,[4] to be distinguished from the marking

1 See Buxtorf, l. cit. p. 191.

2 See Michaelis, Orient. Bibl. IV., s. 219.

3 Buxtorf, l. cit. p. 329.

4 Comp. Ewald, Abhandl. der orient. und bibl. Liter., s. 130, ff. Hebr. Gr. s. 74, ff. 2te Ausg.

of certain sections of the text, or verses. Already the Talmud makes mention of such modulation in the pronunciation (זמרה, נעימה), according to which the Scripture is to be read (Megiliah fol. 32, 1), which suggests a regulated, solemn declamation of the sacred text,[1] though for this it has as little acquaintance with any sign as it has with vowel-signs. In this notation also the Rabbins followed the pattern of the Syrian grammarians; but they prosecuted the formation of this simple norm much further, and fixed here also, with the most anxious scrupulosity, what had established itself in traditional usage.

§ 55. FURTHER HISTORY OF VOCALISATION. DIVERSE VIEWS OF THIS SUBJECT.

Since the punctuation was the product of the East, and of the age adduced, we cannot expect to find any definite historical notices of its origin among the Spanish Rabbins of the middle ages, which indeed it was not their custom to give. Among them the vowel-notation had already obtained such authority that they regarded it unhesitatingly as an ancient ecclesiastical ordinance, and hence placed its origin in the favourite source of Rabbinical tradition, the time of Ezra and the great synagogue.[2] The book Cosri (3, § 31, p. 198) nevertheless asserts the traditional rise of the vowels, and treats the punctuation as a later illustration or confirmation of the text (תקנו המקרא), and places it in the same category with the Masoretic labours on the text. Abenezra also forms an exception from the prevailing assumption of his cotemporaries; he is willing to ascribe to Ezra only the division into verses, which, consequently, he declares to be free from any error;[3] but he declares with equal distinctness that the points were the contrivance of the learned men at Tiberias.[4] David Kimchi has also been reckoned among

1 As among the Arabs also there is a similar solemn recitation of the Coran (تلّ) comp. de Sacy, Notices et Extr. d. MSS. t. IX. No. 3. Comp. also Ewald, Gr. Ar. II. § 777.

2 See the passages in Buxtorf, Tiberias c. 11. Buxt., de ant. punct. c. 3.

3 Buxtorf, de ant. punct. p. 11, sq.

4 אנחנו מהם קבלנו כל הנקוד, "from them have we received the whole punctuation," Zachut. fol. 138, 2.

the advocates of this opinion, but without justice, for it is sufficiently clear from his writings that he attributed the points to Ezra and the great Synagogue as their originators.[1]

The opinion of Abenesra met with followers, though it was regarded as somewhat heretical; on which account it was the more readily embraced by the Christian scholars of the middle ages, from their dislike to the Jews. Thus Raymund Martini († 1278) asserts: Duo Judaei, quorum unus dictus est Naphtali, alter vero Ben Ascher, totum V. T. punctasse leguntur, quae quidem puncta cum quibusdam virgulis sunt loco vocalium apud eos,[2] from which occasion was taken to charge the Jews with falsifying the text; comp. Perez de Valentia, Comment. in Psalm. Prol. tr. II. fol. xxiii., where among other things he says: Ideo nulla fides adhibenda est scripturae s., sicut hodie habent (Judaei) sic interpretatam et punctuatam; Nic. de Lyra ad Hos. c. 9, 12 (who rests on the unpointed synagogue-rolls.)

The matter, however, was properly brought into discussion first in the beginning of the 16th century by the writing of Elias Levita, entitled Massoreth Hammasoreth, in which he asserts the opinion that the points were first introduced by the Masoretes after the close of the Talmud. Through Münster's translation of this tractate, this opinion found almost universal admission among the Reformers and theologians of the 16th century, its opponents (such as Flacius, Clavis s. s. II., p. 664, sq.) forming only the exception. A formal attack upon it ensued by Buxtorf the elder, in his Tiberias. A complete, and, for the first time, thorough-going treatment of the question was furnished by Lud. Capellus, Professor at Saumur, in his Arcanum Punctuationis Revelatum (published at Leyden 1624, in 4to, through the agency of Erpenius without the author's name); and by this treatise the object was already rendered dogmatically suspected: Gerhard and Calov declared decidedly against it. In 1648 Buxtorf the younger wrote his every way lively reply, De punctorum vocalium et accentuum in libr. V. T. origine, antiquitate et auctoritate, to which Cappellus wrote a rejoinder entitled Vindiciae arcani punct. revel.; and found somewhat later,[3] in Joh. Morinus (Exercitt. Bibl. t. II.), a most congenial defender.

1 Comp. Buxtorf, l. cit. p. 34, sq.

2 Pugio fidei. P. III., dist. 3, c. 19, p. 895.

3 [This is not quite exact. Jean Morin, priest of the Oratory at Paris, was the companion rather than the follower of Capell. He first entered upon this controversy in

In this controversy, with whatever animation conducted, the subject of dispute was nevertheless not viewed on all sides and decided on comprehensive grounds, and hence on both sides much was advanced that is untenable. Still to the careful collections of the Buxtorfs we are indebted for so copious an apparatus of Talmudic and Rabbinical knowledge, that in this respect there remains scope only for a digestive and discriminating criticism.—Especially defective was the positive handling of this matter. The question as to the oldest vowels was thus answered by Capell, that אהוי had originally stood as such in the text, but were afterwards cast out by the Jews.

Since, on the assumption of Capell, the text itself was threatened with insecurity, and he himself was guilty of an unheard-of critical arbitrariness, the dogmatical interest of the controversy came to be augmented, and on both sides the reasons for and against of the chiefs of both parties were repeated innumerable times.[1] Among the Swiss theologians respect for the Buxtorfs prevailed to such an extent that, in the formula consensus art. IV., it is laid down that codicem Hebr. V. T. tum quoad consonas tum quoad vocalia sive puncta ipsa sive punctorum saltem potestatem *θεόπνευστον* esse.

In more recent times a medium course has been proposed, and the opinion of El. Levita and Capell as to the later rise of the vocalisation has been viewed as exaggerated. It has been believed that the existence of reading signs in the Talmud, and in the age of Jerome, must be conceded; comp. Dupuy (in the Mem. de l'Acad. t. XXXVI. and in extracts in Eichhorn, Repert. II. s. 270, ff.) O. G. Tychsen, in the Repert. III. s. 102, ff. Gesenius, Gesch. d. h. Spr, § 51, 52. But against this Hupfeld has recently on triumphant grounds declared.

Another kind of solution is also old, that which was adopted by those who did not venture to assert the high antiquity of the present vocalisation in its entire extent. It was admitted that the ancient

1631, when he published his Exercitationes Ecclesiasticae in utrumque Samaritanorum Pentateuchum. He prosecuted the subject in his Exercitationes Biblicae de Heb. et Gr. textus sinceritate, the first vol. of which appeared in 1633, and the second, with a reprint of the first, in 1669. Strictly speaking, he wrote after Capell's first publication, and before his second.—Tr.]

[1] See the principal names, and along with them the reasons of both parties collected, and (though without any critical valuation) in Spitzner, Vindiciae originis et auctoritatis divinae punctorum Vocalium. Lips. 1791, 8vo.

Hebrews must have had vowel-signs, but these were neither in number, nor form the same as those now in use, or only used in dubious and necessary places. Thus *e. gr.* Rivetus, Isag. ad s. s. cap. 8, § 16; Hottinger, Thes. Phil. p. 400, sq.; Marckius, Syll. Diss. ad text. N. T. diss. 3, § 14; Schultens, Institt. Heb. p. 48, sq. More recent enquirers have sought to determine more closely the ancient simple punctuation. Thus some assume, after the model of the Arabic vocalisation, three original vowels, as J. D. Michaelis (vermischte Schriften, Th. 2, s. 1, ff., Orient. Bibl. IX., s. 82, ff.) Trendelenburg, Repert. Th. 18, s. 78, ff. Eichhorn, I. § 68. Bertholdt, Einl. I. s. 174. Others, after the analogy of the Samaritan and oldest Syriac writing, fix on a diacritical point for it, as Dupuy, l. c., Jahn, Einl. I. 340, ff. Comp. also Bauer, Crit. Sac. § 15. Here also, however, there is diversity of opinion as to the age of these signs. Nearest to the truth come those (Steph. and J. Morin, R. Simon) who place the rise of the points in the 7th century, and regard them as an imitation of the Arabic orthography; comp. Gesenius, Gesch. s. 202.

§ 56. SEPARATION OF WORDS.

Closely connected with the square writing is the separating of words. According to rule, as the individual letters were separated, so two words cannot be placed together except at a greater distance. The space to intervene must, according to the Talmud, be here at least so great that a small letter might be inserted in it.[1] Already on the old-Aramaic monument, the stone of Carpentras, we find these spaces,[2] and so also in the Syriac MSS. of the oldest date.[3] To this mode of writing the square writing adhered, and at the same time, in obedience to its own dominant caligraphic principle, it cultivated it with scrupulous exactness, and brought it under regular definitions.

Thus the text appeared when free from appendages; the end was attained by a further extension of what had already been adopted as a rule for the writing of the individual letters. Hence any

1 Comp. Menachoth, fol. 30, 1; Waehner Antiqq. Hebr. I. p. 103.
2 Comp. Kopp, Bild. u. Schr. II. § 174.
3 See Jahn, Einl. I. s. 354, ff.

other separation of words by means of points must remain foreign to the square writing. That some such interpunctuation, however, had preceded is rendered by the analogy of other ancient modes of writing at least very probable. For not only is such an interpunctuation to be found on the oldest Greek and Roman inscriptions and manuscripts, but from its nature it is probable that this was formed after the model of the Semitic method.[1] Also the Phoenician inscriptions exhibit such a separation of words by means of points.[2] But what is of special importance to our purpose is that the Samaritan writing also has (like the Ethiopic), such an interpunctuation;[3] whence it may with great probability be inferred that a similar interpunctuation existed for the ancient Hebrew.[4] But this troublesome method could hardly survive the introduction of cursive writing; hence probably already before the completion of the square writing it had fallen into disuse or only irregular use, till at length it was entirely suppressed by the square writing.—With the spaces stand connected the *final letters*, not that they are to be viewed as themselves intended to separate words, for their rise belongs rather to the cursive character of a writing; but because a space was left between the words for affording them a more free sweep.

§ 57. SEPARATIONS ACCORDING TO THE MEANING. VERSES.

Our present accentuation describes most carefully the tone of individual words and entire clauses, and stands in continual and strict connection with the pronunciation of the words; hence, as respects the time of their rise, the notation of the vowel-sounds, and of the accentuation coalesce. At an earlier period, however, there must have been divisions of the sense for other objects than those which more recently waved before the minds of the Masoretes.

1 See Kopp. II., s. 143, ff.

2 See Kopp. I., 206, ff.

3 See Eichhorn, Einl. II., s. 588.

4 The non-observance of the interpunctuation in the LXX. (Cappelli Crit. Sac. II., p. 685, sq.), to which appeal has been made in opposition to this (Eichhorn, Einl. I., 249, ff.), proves little, since this, as Gesenius rightly suggests (Gesch. d. Hebr. Spr. s. 172), is the case almost without exception with otherwise closely connected words, on which account the fact specified would only prove the absence of a thorough-going and complete interpunctuation.

Whilst, for example, we find in the oldest translations, such as the LXX., great fluctuation as to the division of periods,[1] we find already among the Talmudists a very precise arrangement in this respect, which they held in the highest reverence, as is shown by the maxim: Every verse divided by Moses may not be otherwise divided.[2] If we consider the occasion of such divisions, we shall find it was twofold: 1. The *reading of the Scriptures*, particularly in the public service, led to such. Already the Mishnah mentions the פסוקים in relation to this, for it prescribes that the Interpreter (מתורגמן) shall read one such section from the Thorah, three from the Prophets, (to prevent all error), Megillah, c. 4, § 4. The Gemara forbids the leaving of the synagogue before the ending of such a section, introduces the injunction of Ezra (Nehem. viii. 8), and prescribes in reference to the Prophets, how many sections are to be read on the week-days.[3]—2. The study of the Law, the instruction and school teaching of the same produced such sense-divisions; these were distinguished from the former, which were merely called פסוקים, by the names טעמים clauses, sententiae (which contain a continuous meaning),[4] or also פסוקי טעמים clause-sections. To give instruction in the dividing of clauses (פיסוק טעמים) was a special part of the Rabbinical teaching (Nedarim, fol. 37, 1); in Berachoth, f. 62, 1, the teacher is said to point it out to his scholars with the right hand; and according to it were disputed points of law settled (Chagigah, f. 6, 2.)

The relation of this method of division to the Masoretic verses is an approximative one (especially in the Pentateuch), in so far as the latter also takes some account of the meaning; but it is also different in so far as the former, the Talmudic distinction, holds by the meaning alone and singly. There are nevertheless among the Talmudists differences as to the number of these verse-divisions, explainable by the circumstance that these would be preserved only by tradition.[5] The absence from the Synagogue Rolls of all notation of sections proves that it was not by them that

1 See Capelli, Crit. Sac. II., 545, sq.

2 Tr. Megillah, fol. 21, 1.

3 See Beracoth, f. 8, 1; Megillah, f. 3, 1; Nedarim, f. 37, 2; Baba kama, f. 82, 1.

4 Comp. *e. gr.* Tr. Sotah, p. 818, ed. Wagenseil, where nevertheless the word טעמא is used of a passage read in the synagogue.

5 See Wähner, l. cit. p. 98.

these were preserved. That an attempt at this must have been made later, and how much such an attempt was resisted by the Talmudists, is shown by the passage Tr. Sopherim c. 3: liber legis in quo incisum est (שפסקון) et in quo capita incisorum punctata sunt (שנוקד ראשי פסוקים), ne legas in eo. Hence all stops, as well as proper written marks for such divisions, must be viewed as remote from the time of the Talmudists, who nowhere make the least reference to them, on the contrary always treat of this as a part of the oral instruction. The principal means of assisting the memory in this mode of reading were the סימנים memoranda, words with which the traditional determination was associated, and which consequently were reckoned necessary to the true preservation of the Law (Erubin, f. 53.[1])

In this state Jerome found the Hebrew text. Nowhere does he mention proper marks for the divisions of the meaning, for such passages as "inter Hebraicum et LXX. diversa distinctio est," (ep. ad Cyprian, ad Ps. xc. 11, and others[2]), prove nothing in reference to this since Jerome followed here the context and Rabinnical tradition. He rather looked upon himself as the person who first undertook by means of a proper interpunctuation to make clear the meaning of his translation (utilitati legentium providentes interpretationem novam *novo scribendi genere* distinximus. Praef. in Jes.) Hence Jerome imitated the custom of the grammarians; in place of making a break in the writing by a proper interpunctuation, each clause which contained a complete sense, and often the smaller parts of each were written separately, and each began a new line (στιχηρῶς.)[3] (Quod in Demosthene et in Tullio fieri solet ut per cola scribantur et commata, qui utique prosa et non versibus scripserunt. *Ibid.*[2]) He thus wrote stichometrically the prophetic and poetic books (nemo cum Prophetas *versibus* viderit esse descriptos, *Ibid*), and that for the sake of greater distinctness (quoniam . . . . . manifestiorem legentibus sensum tribuit. Praef. in Ezech.), distinguishing the greater periods

1 We are not to class among these the שׁישׁין, for these are simply *lines*, and Jahn (I. 362) erroneously concludes from the Targ. on Cant. v. 13, that they were divisions comprehending a full sense; for that passage is to be taken simply in reference to the allegory (the ten beds of a Garden), and has no antiquarian value. Comp. Buxtorf, Tiber. p. 287, Lex. Chald. Talm. p. 2378.

2 Which are quoted by O. G. Tychsen, Repertor. 3, 140.

3 Comp. Hug, Einl. ins N. T. I. § 44, 45.

4 See on this passage Clericus, Ars Crit. II. 133 sq.

(cola, membra) and the lesser (commata, incisa) according to the usage which the ancient rhetoric had already established,[1] and to which the rhetorical character of the prophetic discourses was especially congenial; whereas in regard to the historical he only speaks of the larger sections (distinctiones *per membra* divisas. Praef. in Jos.; cola. Praef. in Paralip.) In the poetical books Jerome preferred nevertheless the writing according to Hemistychs as the passage from the Praef. in Jes. itself appears to indicate, and such as ancient codices present.[2] To him belongs only the further extension of this usage (for even in the LXX. and the Itala were the poetic books written stichometrically;[3]) after him it came into ever more general reception.[4]

§ 58. OTHER LARGER DIVISIONS.

In describing the larger sections of the Old Testament we may distinguish two classes according to the end for which they were assumed:

1. *Ecclesiastical Divisions of the Synagogue.* The very ancient custom of reading every Sabbath in the Synagogue a portion of the Law (Acts xiii. 21: *Μωϋσῆς ἐκ γενεῶν ἀρχαίων κατὰ πόλιν τοὺς κηρύσσοντας αὐτὸν ἔχει, ἐν ταῖς συναγωγαῖς κατὰ πᾶν σάββατον ἀναγινωσκόμενος*; comp. Joseph. c. Apion. l. II. p. 1072, ed. Colon.), had as a consequence that for the more regular observance of it the Pentateuch was divided into 54 sections (פָּרָשִׁיּוֹת). Of these there is mention in the Gemara, where a distinction is made between the *open*, *i.e.* such as began a new line

[1] See Cicero, Orator c. 62 and 66. Brutus c. 44. Comp. also the use of *versus* (rhetorical clauses), Cic. de orat. I, 61.

[2] Comp. R. Simon, H. crit. V. T. I., 28. Kennikott, Diss. I. sup. ratione Textus Hebr. p. 808. Stark, prolegg. in Pss. P. II. p. 443; quo antiquiores sunt codd. Hebraei eo magis per versus scribendi rationem in poeticis libris regnare.

[3] See the passage in De Wette, Einl. s. 118.

[4] Comp. Cassiodor. praef. in div. lectt.: Quod nos quoque tanti viri auctoritate commoti sequendum esse judicavimus (namely, the distinctio per cola et commata), ut cetera distinctionibus ordinentur.—Reliquos vero codices qui non sunt tali distinctione signati, notariis, diligenti tamen cura sollicitis, relegendos atque emendandos reliqui. Comp. Clericus l. cit. p. 191.—On the assertion of a Masoretic division of verses by numbers, which, according to De Rossi, was found first in the Sabionite Pentateuch (of the year 1557), see Eichhorn I. 266.

(פתוחות) and the *shut*, or such as were written on in the same line (סתומות); though the Talmudists are not at one as to the notation of these by spaces.[1] More recent is the distinction between the *greater* Parashes, which were read on the Sabbath, and the *lesser*, which were appointed for the week-days, or rather perhaps a new subdivision of the greater Parashes for the sake of more distinctly marking the inter-spaces for the reading.[2] According to Maimonides it was the received usage among the Jews to complete in this way the reading of the Law in the space of one year, beginning with the Sabbath following the Feast of Tabernacles; he admits, however, that there were synagogues in which three years were assigned to this.[3]—The mode of denoting the Parashes in printed editions is for the larger ones as they are open or shut פ פ פ, and ס ס ס, for the smaller פ and ס.

After the reading of the Law in the Synagogue it was also from an early period the custom to read a passage from the Prophets (comp Acts xiii. 15, 27; Luke iv. 16, ff.), and with that to dissolve the meeting (λύειν τὴν συναγωγήν, Acts xiii. 43, hebr. הפטיר); hence the reader who made this conclusion was called מפטיר,[4] and the prophetic passage read הפטרה. From Luke iv. 17 it undoubtedly appears, as also passages from the Talmudists show,[5] that at the time of Christ there was a free choice left as to the passage to be read, nor do the *περικοπαί*[6] or Jewish reading-sections of which the Church Fathers, as Justin Martyr, make mention in quoting passages from the Prophets, prove that any stringent arrangement in this respect prevailed. The origin of a regular selection of prophetic passages or Haphtares[7] is indeed, by the modern Jews, referred to very ancient times,[8] but on very uncritical grounds; "when it was determined by *law* no one knows."[9] Even now there are differences as to selection of these among the Jews of different countries.

1 Schabbath f. 103, 2. Wähner l. cit p. 188.

2 Carpzov, crit. sac. p. 145. Otherwise Jahn, s. 364.

3 In his book תפלה הלכות cap. 13, comp. also Ideler, Handb. d. Chronol. I., 564.

4 See Lightfoot, Hor. ad Luc. iv. 16.

5 See Lightfoot, l. c.

6 Equivalent to *ἀναγνώσματα*, comp. Hug, l. c. § 48.

7 See the list in Bodenschatz, Kirchl. Verfassung der Juden II. 26, ff.

8 See Carpzov, l. cit. p. 148. Hottinger, Thes. p. 222.

9 Eichhorn, I. 270. Comp. also Zunz, Die gottesdienstlichen Vorträge der Juden. s. 3, ff. and 188, ff.

2. *Divisions for private use.* The oldest of these which we know is the casual mention of the contents of a section by which a passage is more closely denoted, hence called by Bertholdt an ideal division of the matter. Such are found as early as Philo (de Agricult. I. 316, ed. Mangey: λέγει γὰρ ἐν ταῖς ἀραῖς, *i.e.* Deut. xxvii.) in the N. T. (Mark ii. 26; Rom. xi. 2; Mark xii. 26; Heb. iii. 8; iv. 4), and also with the later Rabbins.[1] They have their analogies in the classics[2] and among the orientals (as *e. gr.* the appellations of the Suras of the Coran.)

In Hebrew MSS. (as well as in the LXX.) Jerome found a division into capitula, and he remarks upon the irregularity of these.[3] Whether it was the same which Jacob Ben Chajim found in a Hebrew MS. (the סדרים) or as is mentioned in the correctorium Parisiense[4] of the 12th cent. must remain uncertain.

Shortly after that time (the 13th cent.) the Scholastics began to prefer our present capitular division, to which occasion was given by the concordances then coming into use.[5] From the Christians this passed over to the Jews, of whom R. Isaac Nathan (about A.D. 1440) was the first who availed himself of them.

§ 59. HISTORY OF THE TEXT OF THE OLD TESTAMENT AS A WHOLE. FIRST PERIOD—TO THE CLOSING OF THE CANON.

"The Hebrew text," remarks De Wette, § 85, "has probably suffered misfortunes before the Old Testament collection was formed into a whole, and attained a certain reverence." In this assertion true and false are so strangely intermingled that it is not easy to extricate the former out of it. It is based on the assumption that the carelessness or arbitrariness with which people proceeded before the closing of the Canon, had its origin in a want of reverence for it as a collection of sacred writings. For this error, however, there is as little historical as dogmatical foundation. For what has been

1 See Döpke, Hermeneutik d. N.T. Schriftell. s. 63, ff.

2 Comp. *e. gr.* Thucyd. I. 9, in the citing of Homer; see Wolf, prolegg. ad Homer. p. CVIII.

3 *E. gr.* in Mich. vi. 9, in Hebraicis alterius hoc capituli exordium est, apud LXX. vero finis superioris. See other passages in De Wette, s. 119.

4 As Jahn suggests, s. 369.

5 See Buddeus, Isagoge Histor. Theol. &c. p. 1513, sq.—More minutely in Jahn, s. 368.

adduced as a voucher for some such arbitrary procedure, viz. the parallel passages found in the Old Testament itself [which often vary more or less from each other], proves assuredly the great freedom possessed, and that consciously, so long as a living Divine principle showed itself operative in the Theocracy. We have here, be it observed, not to do with citations, but with a free use of the text, and we cannot regard the former as proper variations of the text, as it is only with the independent original that we have to do.—It has already been frequently observed how the repetitions occurring in the Old Testament indicate a certain liberty of quotation, which proves directly the original character of these and their non-interpolation.[1] "Si quando vel duo scriptores ex uno communi fonte hauriebant, vel alter alterum exscribebat vel denique idem auctor scriptum iterum edebat, non iisdem semper verbis utebantur, sed cum pleraque retinerent, nonnulla subinde addebant, alia demebant, alia cum aliis commutabant."[2] Through the criticism of Capell and others, however, the principle has come to prevail that in such cases one of the two readings is the critically correct, *i.e.* the original one, the other spurious and critically to be repudiated.[3] The principle confounds the exegetical with the critical, for certainly in a linguistic and exegetical respect such a difference may lead, and ought to lead, to a determination of the earlier or later or contemporary origin of these sections; but for criticism both readings are alike primitive, and it has in both cases to do only with the original.

It thus appears that the condition of the text antecedent to the closing of the Canon lies beyond the reach of criticism, as belonging to a period with which it has nothing to do. For it must not be overlooked that, on the one hand, at that time the text itself and the revision of it were regarded as belonging to the Theocracy, and the men called thereto, as a free property; and on the other that in this and in other favourable circumstances (such as the existence of the Hebrew as a living mother tongue[4]) lay the safety of the sacred text, which could receive anything foreign only after the Canon had been led to possess a self-repairing power.

If we look, however, to the time of the collecting of the Canon,

1 Comp. Michaelis, Neue Orient. Bibl. III. s. 236, ff.

2 Pareau, Institt. Interp. p. 313 [Biblical Cabinet, No. 25, p. 29.]

3 See on the other side Buxtorf, Anticrit. p. 363, sqq.

4 See Jahn, Einleit. I. 377.

we shall have a direct testimony in favour of the conscientiousness of the author of it in regard to the text of the sacred writings in the preservation of the minutest differences in the parallel passages. A later arbitrary criticism would have tried to produce uniformity in respect to these; but, as it is, the divergence proves the care with which they went to work at that time, and, far from ascribing this divergence to copiers of a later period, we must impute to the latter the rise of a comparison of these passages.

Possible, however, as corruptions of the ancient text might be,[1] we have no means of detecting them so as to separate them from those which have arisen since the collection of the Canon; to this as for us in a critical respect an important period, we must look, in order to ascertain through what hands the canonical text has passed, and what they have made of it.

§ 60. SECOND PERIOD. HISTORY OF THE TEXT TILL THE AGE OF THE TALMUDISTS.

In this period there are two principal divergences of the canonical text to which we must attend, which may be called from their authors the Alexandrino-Egyptian and the Palestinian Recensions.

The oldest monument of the former we possess is the *Alexandrian Translation*. It exhibits without critical exactness the text of the Old Testament in a state very greatly varying from its present, since in the preparation of it the original text was not with scrupulous fidelity followed, but received partly from want of skill, partly from intentional efforts at emendation, a varied hue, even according to the different parties engaged upon the translation. Besides in its production there may have been used corrupted codices to which the rise of these variations may be referable. But the love of novelty among the Alexandrians must be regarded as lying at the root of these divergencies, which cannot be charged upon the stationary character of the Judaism of Palestine; and hence the blame of such variations as arose from unskilfulness must be laid upon the Greek translator, not upon the copyist,

[1] That at the time of the composition of Chronicles there were codices which had become incorrect or corrupt, is probable from the genealogies in them. See Keil, Apol. Vers. üb. d. Chronik, s. 185, s. 293, ff.

always better skilled in the Hebrew. Hence this new text must be viewed as one constructed on foreign ground, and therefore of significancy in a critical point of view, only when it concurs with those which stand closely allied to the original by an internal bond. —Proceeding from this text, and in so far of special historical interest, is a proper Hebrew recension of the text of the Mosaic books, which, reaching the Samaritans from the Alexandrians, has from the former come to us. The *Samaritan Pentateuch*[1] is such a free recension of the text, for the most part following the uncritical text of the Alexandrians, more rarely assuming variations required by the usage of the Samaritan language or Samaritan religious ideas (comp. Deut. xxvii. 4.) As yet no variation proving itself genuine, has been instanced from this recension;[2] all fall under the heads of grammatical corrections, glosses, additions from parallel passages, &c.

Among the Jews of Palestine we find greater carefulness as respects the preservation of the text. Of this the calligraphic writing of the sacred books, introduced before the time of Christ, is an evidence. Josephus also expressly ascribes to his nation the greatest carefulness in the preservation of these books (*πεφυλακέναι μετὰ πολλῆς ἀκριβείας*), and adds: *οὔτε προσθεῖναί τις οὐδὲν, οὔτε ἀφελεῖν αὐτῶν, οὔτε μεταθεῖναι τετόλμηκεν* (c. Apion. I., § 8.) There is moreover in those sources whence we derive from that time more or less direct information regarding the Palestinian text, a remarkable agreement with, and close adherence to, the Hebrew original. So Aquila's Translation; and the Targum of Onkelos and Jonathan. So much the more foolish is the charge which has been made against the Jews of intentional corruption of the text[3]—a charge proceeding only from polemic bitterness and bigotry. An evidence of such a text, so exact and agreeing with the Hebrew, is furnished by the Hebrew columns in Origen's Hexapla, which are also to be referred to a Palestinian origin. After this standard Jerome corrected his translation (curae nobis fuit omnes vet. legis libros, quos vir Adamantius in Hexapla digesserat, de Caesariensi

1 Principal work: Gesenius, De Pentateuchi Samaritani origine, &c. Halae 1815, comp Tholuck's Lit. Anz. 1833, No. 38–40.

2 The few passages collected with this view by Gesenius, p. 61, form no exception to this remark when more closely examined, so that the older opinion, that of Hottinger, Steph. Morinus, Buxtorf, &c, holds true.

3 See Eichhorn, Einl. I., § 111.

bibliotheca descriptos, ex ipsis authenticis, emendare etc. Comm. ad Tit. c. iii.), and his sureness about the Hebrew text, in which he never takes notice of any variety of reading (which, however, he so much the more freely does in reference to the LXX.), is explainable also only from this his confident reversion to the Jewish text.[1]

§ 61. TREATMENT OF THE TEXT AMONG THE TALMUDISTS.

From the preceding it appears how, with the orthodox Jews of Palestine and Babylon, a textus receptus of the Old Testament must have been found about the time of Christ. Already the contrariety to which the free hellenistic mode of treating it tended must have evoked in its opponents a decided adherence to the received text. Already the graphic prescriptions of the Talmud prove the great care which was exercised on the text; but as it was held as a fixed law to write according to the rule, *i.e.* according to the norm determined by usage (כתובים כהלכתם Tr. Gittin f. 45, 2), the text came to be constituted unimpeachable, and hence not to be touched by critical (and we may add exegetical) meddling in any of its rights, or in any way corrupted by additions or alterations. Whatever of this sort, therefore, affected the text and its constitution (as interpretation) could only be regarded as *Tradition*, which went along with the written law.[2]

In this way the *Textual Criticism* of the Talmud came to possess an altogether peculiar character. First of all, whatever could contribute to the still exacter determination of the received text was attended to. Thus they numbered the words and the letters of the text,[3] in connection with this made declaration of the defective or full writing of the words, what word and what letter is the middle one of each book, how often the same word occurs in the same book or section, &c.[4] The Talmud gives out this attention

[1] Comp. Eichhorn, § 113, 123, 127, 6.

[2] It is entirely from ignorance of this principle that the doubt has arisen in the minds of some as to the admission of a textus receptus by the Talmudists, as *e. gr.* Bertholdt I 270.

[3] See on the allied usage of the Syrian, Wiseman, Hor. Syr. p. 213, and other peoples of the East, Ewald, Abhandll. z. Orient. u. Bibl. Litt. I. 57.

[4] See the Talmudic passages ap. Wähner, Antiqq. Hebr. I. 99, sqq.

especially to the numbering of the words as very ancient; the ancient learned men, it says, were exercised in the determination of defective and full written words, not less than we are;[1] hence the ancients were called סופרים, according to the Talmud, on account of this attention (שהיו סיפרים כל אותיות שבתורה).

All changes, however, assumed upon the text on critical or hermeneutical grounds, belonged to the department of traditional deliverance, which was viewed as a fixed and aboriginal accompaniment of the text (הלכה למשה מסיני, Nedarim f. 37, 2.)[2] In this way was formed the contrast between the *Ketib*, the written, the primitive text, and its reading; and the *Keri*, the read, the closer fixing of the former to be taken with it, or a variation upon it; comp. *e.g.* Tr. Joma f. 21, 2, "why is it written (מאי דכתיב) Hagg. i. 8, ואכבד, and why read we (וקרינן) ; ואכבדה ?" The Talmud avails itself of both the text and the marginal reading for its purposes, *i.e.* the founding of its juridical and theological decisions.[3] There is thus nowhere an explanation of the (critical) origin of these readings, which in this respect had no interest for the Talmudists, who concerned themselves solely and exclusively about their application. The sources of these, however, are two, 1. A *critical* one arising from a collation of MSS., as appears from the passage, Taanith Hieros. fol. 68, 1,[4] according to which, however, this sort of occupation belongs to a more distant period, and has on the whole an inferior significancy; 2. By far the greater part of these variations rest on *hermeneutical* grounds, whether some exegetical correction, such as changing the anomalous for the regular, &c., or some reading specially belonged to Talmudic hermeneutics, and based on them. Such hermeneutical rules are *e.gr.* that laid down, Megillah f. 25, 2, כל המקראות הכתובין בתורה לגנאי קרין אותן לשבח (omnes voces quae scriptae sunt in lege in turpitudinem, leguntur in laudem), and hence the

1 Kidduschin fol. 30. See Buxtorf, Tiber. c. 8.

2 How strongly all uncalled for emendations of the text were opposed and protested against, is shown by the examples in Jost, Gesch. d. Israel. IV., s. 36.

3 The citations from the Talmud are hence commonly according to the Keri. See Frommann, Opusce. Philol. (Coburg. 1770) I., 21 sq.

4 Comp. the passage in De Wette, s. 132, not. b., and with it the remark of Kimchi ap Walton, Prolegg. p. 241: viri synagogae M. — invenerunt differentias in libris et secuti sunt multitudinem. In locis vero quorum claram cognitionem assecuti non sunt unum scripserunt in textu et non punctatum, aut ad marginem et textui non inseruerunt.

euphemistic marginal reading; so likewise on the pronunciation of the name Jehovah as Adonai or Elohim (see Pesachim f. 50, 1; Kidduschin f. 71, 1.)

The Talmud moreover recognises particular classes of such textual variations which belong to the מקרא סופרים. It mentions expressly the *Keri velo Ketib* and the *Ketib velo Keri* (Nedarim l. cit.), according to the augumentation or diminution as respects the text in the marginal reading, though the text itself did not always bear mention of these variations (as in later pointed MSS., by means of a slight space, &c.) The opposite of such "מקרא סוף is the עטור סופרים (comp. Nedarim l. cit.), or the ablatio scribarum, which relates to such Keris as have been inserted erroneously, such as the copula ו before אַחַר, and hence denotes words not to be read.[1] With this at a later period was classed the (not mentioned in the Talmud) תיקון סופרים, correctio scribarum, an exegetical diversion,[2] intended to show the *possibility* of another reading than that of the original text (*e. gr.* ברעתם for ברעתי, Num. xi. 15), but at the same time intimating that from definite and weighty reasons the writer had expressed himself as the text has it.[3]

Only in two cases have exceptions to this general rule of the inviolability of the sacred text been admitted, which therefore require a closer examinination: 1. The puncta extraordinaria, partly over single letters (as *e. gr.* בקומה, Gen. xix. 33), partly over entire words (as וישקהו, Gen. xxxiii. 4; לולא, Ps. xxvii. 13.) In the Talmud, however, these points appear nowhere as of *critical* import, but alone as indicating objects of allegorical explanations and plays.[4] As such they were recognised even by Jerome (Quaest. in Gen. xviii. 35, [xix. 33]): appungunt desuper quasi incredibile et quod rerum natura non capiat, coire quempiam nescientem.

1 Comp. Buxtorf, Tiber. p. 41, sq. Wähner l. cit. p. 109, sq.: noli verborum sono seduci, ne castratum per eos textum suspiceris. Nihil illi est demptum. Sed monuerunt tantummodo quinque in locis, ubi prefixum ו, licet in sacro codice expressum non esset, vulgo tamen legeretur, id legi non debere. Ex vitiosa igitur lectione non ex sacro codice, criticorum aliquid abstulit extrusio.—Quite erroneously, on the other hand, has the expression been regarded by recent writers, as *e.gr.* Bertholdt, s. 270; Eichhorn, I. 147.

2 Already Aben Ezra, on Num. xi. 15, remarks on the superfluousness of this.

3 Comp. Wähner l. cit., p. 110. Stange Theol. Symmikta II., s. 193, ff.

4 Comp. Nasir, f. 23, 1. Sanhedrin, f. 43. Berachoth, f. 4.

Hence also the hermeneutical rule: If the majority of the letters be provided with points, these are to be treated allegorisingly, but, if the minority, then the non-pointed letters are to be so treated.[1] From this it is clear that the Talmud already regarded these points as ancient, and as a property belonging to the text (like the coronaments, &c.), and it is only their original or pretalmudic determination that can be subject of question. This appears, however, partly on account of the want of many of these words in the oldest translations (LXX. Samar. Syr.),[2] partly on account of the analogous significance of such points in other MS. documents,[3] to have been really the result of critical efforts (for indicating the omission of a word or letter in the one or other MS. so as to render blotting out or erasure unnecessary), but afterwards incorporated with the text; and their origin being unknown, they were the more readily used for allegorical purposes.[4]—2. Analogous was the determination of the *literae majusculae, minusculae* and *inversae*, of which the Talmud takes notice as an ancient usage (Kidduschin, f. 30, 1), but of which the Talmud itself has indicated the proper and original use.[5] Those obtained at a later period on account of their antiquity a canonical establishment (see Massechet Sophrim, c. 9), and besides supplied abundant material for knitting together the allegorical explanations and caprices of the Talmudists, and in a still higher degree of the later Cabbalistic Jews.[6]

§ 62. THE MASORETES AND THEIR LABOURS.

A new period for the formation of the Old Testament text commenced with the rise and operations of the Masoretes. Up to this the tradition had been exclusively oral, and it was a decided

1 Comp. Tosepheth ad Baba mezia, f. 87, 1.

2 Comp. Hüpeden, von der wahren Ursache und Bedeutung der ausserordentliche Punkte. Hannover, 1751. particularly § 4, ff.

3 Comp Blanchini Evangeliarium Quadrupl. II. 2, p. 502.

4 From this, however, nothing is less allowable than the rejection of such words from the text; see Hitzig. Die Psalm, übers, u. s. w., s. 44

5 Namely, as marking the middle of a book or section, &c. See Kidduschin, l. c. Wähner, l. c. p. 104, sq. Hence they can be viewed only as critical signs were originally. See Gesenius, Lehrg. s. 11.

6 Comp. Sanhedrin, f. 103, 2. Baba Bathra, f. 109, 2. See also Döpke, Hermeneutik der N.T. Schriftstellern, s. 178.

principle of the Talmudists that what belonged to the oral traditions was not to be taught in writing.[1]

But through the many minute definitions of the Talmudists, tradition respecting the biblical text had grown to such an extent that it must have appeared to themselves doubtful if their principle of not committing that tradition to writing could be rigidly carried out. To this was added the circumstance, that from the 6th century, the schools in Palestine, especially that at Tiberias, began again to flourish, and their relation to the Persian Jews especially was directed to the calling forth of a new branch of scientific effort, since the Talmud was already committed to writing.[2] There came at a later period the union of these schools with the Arabians and Syrians, which called forth a certain grammatico-critical revision of the text. In such an effort the only course was along the path of tradition, and hence the service of these scholars consisted not in independent grammatical researches (such as at a later period were developed on the basis of that previous work), but in the collecting and arranging of the traditions in respect of the text. Hence it appears how these scholars had always an inferior influence, and obtained but little reputation, particularly in relation to the Babylonian Rabbins who were then zealously devoted to Talmudic studies.[3]

What we find accordingly in the Talmud as an object of oral tradition and learned treatment was noted down, and called the Masorah, in the sense of *written tradition*. The Masoretes did not, as has been commonly imputed to them, attempt a new revision of the text, still less a settling of the same according to the consonants, as Eichhorn thinks (Einl. I. § 129), which in much earlier times had been accomplished as a standard available for all times. They rather devoted themselves exclusively, in the first instance, to the noting what had been handed down, and hence to the exactest possible representation of the number of verses, words, and letters of the Keri and Ketib, &c. On this account the Masorah appears, on the one hand, among the Jewish writers as a very ancient element, and, on the other, with equal truth as a

1 See Gittin, f. 60. Morinus, de Ling. Primaeva, p. 428.

2 Comp. Jost, Gesch. d. Israeliten, V. 214, ff., s. 282, and particularly Zunz, Die Gottesdienstl. Vorträge der Juden, s. 309.

3 Comp. Morinus, l. cit., p. 436.

production of the post-talmudic period.[1] Hence also the difference among the Rabbins; some, and they the major part, declaring themselves for the Masorah, and others, on the contrary, lamenting the cessation of the living tradition, and its having passed into a dead property.[2]

It lies in the nature of the thing itself, that even in such efforts an advance should be made, which found scope especially in the closely associated *grammatical* studies, or rather (empirical) observations on the text.[3] The aim of the Masoretes was thus to produce a grammatical conformity of the sacred text, and to bring into consequent application the grammatical principles formed in this respect.[4] In this way the marginal readings were formed with greater consecutiveness, as grammatical glosses, by which the text was conceived not as something to be apprehended as a living development, but as a whole to be handled with constant uniformity. Exactly as the Homeric critics emended their text according to grammatical rules with more or less of arbitrariness,[5] so also the Masoretes, only with the great difference that the written text, as handed down, remained with them as such untouched. With the Masoretes, consequently, the ancient text flowed on freely beside the newly settled text, so that here the original condition of the text was clearly discriminated from that which accompanied it, and which was furnished by tradition and the grammatical system of the Masoretes. As the acme and proper consummation to which this undertaking was directed, we may regard the *vocalisation* and *accentuation* of the text, in which not even the minutest detail has escaped the sedulous care of the Masoretes.

From this we may ascertain the (often erroneously assigned) *sources* of the Masorah, inasmuch as, on the one hand, it concurs with the preceding tradition, whilst, on the other, it sets forth certain principles of its own, suggested by the notation of the former. To this grammatical constituting of the text is to be

1 Comp. Buxtorff, Tiberias, c. 3. Hence the one-sided strife among theologians as to the age of the Masorah; see De Wette, § 90, note 6.

2 Comp. the B. Cosri P. 3, p. 197, Buxt.; Buxtorf, Tiberias, p. 203. Other later declarations rest entirely on bad MSS. of the Masora. See O. G. Tyschen, von Hartmann I. 390.

3 See the examples in Buxtorf, Tiber. p. 141, sqq.

4 Comp. Gesenius, Gesch. de Hebr. Spr. s. 75.

5 See Wolf, Proll. ad Homerum, p. ccvi. sq.

referred, consequently, all that has been set forth as resting on "the collation of MSS.," and "the private judgment" of the Masoretes.[1] The idea of the "criticism of the Masoretes" (or "critical Keris," &c.) must therefore be formed entirely with respect to these principles as one thoroughly peculiar and definite. All set forth by them, as well as the newly invented signs, have such a grammatical character, and the same definiteness.[2] Thus also the סבירין are not in the least "critical conjectures," proposals towards alterations of the text,[3] but purely grammatical emendations, which, however, were by the Masoretes themselves disapproved of as readings, since they would not substitute them for the anomalous or unusual expression of the text.[4]

The object of the labour of the Masoretes was in truth endless, inasmuch as ever exacter and more detailed determinations of the text would be thought of; hence the want of completeness which often shows itself in the notation, and the difference, in respect of the documents in which it is contained,[5] and the Masoretic recensions thence arising (see the following §.)

There is a distinction made between the *Great* and the *Little Masorah*, according to the greater or less completeness of the remarks.[6] The Masorah was first collected in books by itself; afterwards it was appended to the margin of the Bible MSS.,[7] and it was first printed in the Bomberg edition of the Bible in 1518, under the supervision of Felix Pratensis, more correctly afterwards in the edition of 1526, under the supervision of the Jew Jacob Ben

1 Comp. De Wette, § 91. See, on the other hand, the excellent remarks of Ephodaeus (Buxtorf de Punct. antiq. p. 411): et tunc composuerunt libros Masorethicos, qui omnes agunt de grammaticalibus libri hujus sancti (כלם הם בדקדוק הספר הזה) etc.

2 So the Piska. Comp. Gesenius, Lehrg. s. 124, ff., and especially Maurer, Comment. z. B. Josua, s. 31, ff.

3 Thus Bertholdt, s 276.

4 Consequently analogous to the Tikkun Sophrim. Comp. Buxtorf, Tiberias, p. 145, sq.

5 Elias Levita ap Buxtorf, Tib. p. 194: scito quod Masorah magna, quae exstat, propemodum infinita est. Comp. also Ewald, Grammatik, s. 61, 2te Ausg and Buxt. p. 196.

6 Masorah magna est, quae totam Criticen comprehendit, cum plena locorum Scripturae enumeratione, quam quaeque nota critica suo numero designat.—Mas. parva est, quae literis numeralibus, vocibus decurtatis et symbolicis ad latus textus breviter et succincte describitur. Buxt. Tib. p. 199, 202.

7 See Bux. Tib. p. 195.

Chajim.[1] It appeared in a much emended edition in Buxtorf's Rabbinical Bible, Basel 1618, 19.[2]

§ 63. MANUSCRIPTS.

Through the labours of the Masoretes a twofold form of the text arose among the Jews, the one to which was appended closely the Masoretic endowment, the other which conserved the ancient free Masoretic text. The more, however, that the relations of the Jews, then existing and becoming ever more stringent, led them to embrace and reverence the notation of tradition, so much the more general became the custom of multiplying the Masoretic text by transcripts. Hence it found general admission speedily into all private MSS., and in them had come to be regarded normally as an indispensable aid to the understanding of the text. Since in this way the older unmasoretic MSS. came entirely into disuse, it is easy to understand the late antiquity of those now extant.[3] For ecclesiastical objects, however, the ancient form retained its authority so much the more decidedly, and hence the codices destined for use in the Synagogue are all prepared on a model strictly following the Talmudic prescription.

By the Masoretic settlement of the text the elegant and correct transcription of the same was rendered greatly more difficult. We find accordingly from that time among the Jews great attention paid to the variations arising through transcription, and a careful avoidance of such by means of well corrected copies. Thus arose *standard MSS.*, strictly conformed to the Masoretic text, and carefully

[1] Buxtorf says of this: et in hoc labore innumeri errores permanserunt, Tib. p. 199.

[2] He himself says of this: nec tamen credas, omnia esse correcta et emendata: nusquam enim ordine in singula inquisivi, sed prout quaeque nunc hic nunc illic obviam accederent: ita ad censuram vocavi (praef. ad. Tib.) The account which Buxtorf himself takes of this work in his Tiberias shows how unfounded is the opinion of Eichhorn (Einl. I. 438) and others, that "he constructed for himself in many places quite a new Masorah, in order to be able to vindicate, on the principles of his contemporaries, the impeached integrity of our editions of the Bible!!"

[3] Ratio etiam probabilis reddi potest, cur non habeamus codd. Hebraeos ita antiquos, ut Graecos quosdam V. et N. Ti: quia sc. post Masoretharum criticam et punctationem, ab omnibus receptam, Judaeorum magistri omnes codd., his non conformes, ut profanos et illegitimos damnarunt: unde post pauca secula, omnibus juxta Masoretharum exemplaria descriptis, reliqui rejecti et aboliti. Walton, prolegg. p. 181.

preserved, which were used for the emendation of others, and enjoyed great celebrity, especially where the use of them prevailed. The earliest of these known to us are those of R. Aharon Ben Asher, a Palestinian, and of Ben Naphthali, a Babylonian Rabbi of the 11th century. The former issued such a recension, according to which the Palestinian MSS. were corrected, and this was esteemed in the West the most famous.[1] In the East, on the other hand, the Recension of Ben Naphthali was in especial repute, and hence there is a distinction made between ספרי ישראל and ספרי בבל.[2] Of such MSS., each of which was distinguished by some special excellence, several are mentioned by the Rabbins, as the Codex Hillelis, cod. Sinai, the Pentateuch of Jericho, &c.[3]

Considering these things it was to be expected, that in spite of the care exercised, a great difference would be found in the MSS., of which not only the state of these themselves, but also the commentaries of the Rabbins of the middle ages,[4] give proof, which however is generally to be put to the account of negligence and carelessness on the part of the copyist. Hence the observation that the older MSS. correspond more with the Masoretic text than the later, which the greatest negligence has disfigured.[5] That, however, readings were altered by the transcribers, on their own authority, in opposition to this text, and according to the Targums or the grammar, as Eichhorn thinks (Einl. I., § 134, 135), is an entirely unsupported supposition, and is sufficiently set aside, partly by the acceptance which the work of the Masoretes found in practice, even when blamed in principle, and partly by an exact testing of the Masoretic various lections.

§ 64. CONTINUATION. SYNAGOGUE ROLLS.

On account of the rabbinical representation of the especial

1 See the passages of Maimonides, Kimchi, and others, in Buxtorf fil. de punct. antiq p. 264, sq., 270, sq. Hottinger Thes. Phil. p. 107, sq.

2 Comp. Wolf, Biblioth. Hebr. I. 126, 127.

3 See Hottinger, l. cit. p. 106, sq. Carpzov, Crit. Sac. p. 368, sq.

4 Comp. Claud. Cappellanus, Mare Rabbin. infidum. 1667. Kennikott, diss. sup rat. text. Hebr. p. 226, 232, sq., 247, sq. Cappellus, crit. s. II., p. 420, sq. Tychsen im Reportor. I., 169, ff.

5 See Eichhorn I. 378. De Wette § 108.

sanctity of the Thorah, and because this is solely and wholly appointed for church uses, the rule arose of writing the Pentateuch on special rolls, which consequently were esteemed particularly holy.[1] The Talmud contains, consequently, the strictest prescriptions as to the material, writing instruments, colours, letters, copyists, &c.[2] to be employed in this work. These MSS. are in consequence written in the ancient roll-form on parchment with the greatest calligraphic exactness, though without any punctuation. As well the preparation of the skin and the ink, as the training and the deportment of the copyist, are carefully prescribed. In the revision of the copies only very slight errors were endured, when greater ones were found the copy was rejected.[3] On this account the text has in all the Synagogue rolls a strict uniformity, which is so far a guarantee for their being securely done. Eichhorn's assertion, "It is lucky that all the copyists have not followed the Synagogue text" (II., 465), needs in the first place to be greatly limited [in point of fact], and is incorrect, inasmuch as little profit would have accrued to criticism had we possessed a larger number of still more negligently written codices. In order strictly to prevent the least possible profanation of the Synagogue rolls, it is enjoined that in case of their becoming useless or injured, they must be entirely destroyed that no one may abuse them.[4] Hence the small number of these rolls that has come into the possession of Christians.[5]

§ 65. CONTINUATION. PRIVATE MANUSCRIPTS.

In far less esteem among the Jews were the MSS. destined for

1 Comp. Baba Bathra, f. 13, 2; 14, 1. Nevertheless each book may be written apart; Gittin, f. 60, 1. The Haphtars and Megilloth were written on special rolls.

2 Comp. Tr. Sophrim ed Adler (Hamburg, 1799),—probably belonging to the sixth century, but describing a custom established from a much older period; in addition Maimonides יד חזקה (P. I. 1, 2) and הלכות ספרי תורה (3, c. 7, sqq.) Comp. Schickard, jus Reg. Hebr 2, p. 89, sq. ed. Carpsov; Wähner Antiqq. Hebr. I. p. 181, sq.; Eichhorn II. § 344. ff.

3 See on these eastern customs Jahn, Einl. I., 378, ff. According to Menachoth, f. 29, 2, two mistakes are to be endured, and a correction of them allowed, but if three are found the copy is naught (פגום). Comp. Buxtorf, Lex. Chald. Talm., p. 457. Wähner l. cit., p. 204.

4 Megillah, fol. 26. 2; comp. also Wagenseil, ad Tr. Sotah, p. 310.

5 See Carpzov, Crit. Sac., p. 373.

private use, which they were accustomed to call *profane* (פסולים).[1] Hence in these the greatest arbitrariness prevailed in the matter of writing. Especially is their form according to the taste of individuals, and hence a variety of which even the Talmud takes notice (Baba Bathra, f. 13, 2.) The greater part are written on parchment, some on cotton-paper, a few on common paper. The ink is throughout black, though frequently there is a difference between the consonants and the points. Initial words and letters are often gilded and emblazoned with other colours.[2] On each side the space is carefully divided; the prose parts are for the most part written in columns, the poetic stichometrically; though there are codices which are without columns. The Hebrew text does not always wholly occupy the columns; frequently a translation, especially a Targum, is appended, which is sometimes written in the text interlinearly, and also on the margin in smaller letters.—The number and breadth of the lines are throughout casual, and determined by circumstances. The upper and lower margin are usually occupied by the Masorah; the outer notes the Haphtars, Parashes, &c., and the inner the little Masorah.—The individual books are separated by spaces, which however are quite arbitrary; nevertheless the books of Samuel, of Kings, of Chronicles, and of Ezra and Nehemiah, appear without these. The codices also differ as to the arrangement of the books (especially the Hagiographa) according to the different countries in which they were written.[3]

Since these MSS. contain a pointed text, and in general many appendages, they have passed through several hands to their completion. The Consonantal Text was the work of the סופר proper, who, though he generally was the same as the Punctator (נקדן), yet never combined the writing of the consonants and vowels. It was different persons frequently who undertook the task of appending the Masorah and other scholia, of revising the whole, of freshening passages that had become too faint to be read, &c.—The whole of the MSS. are demonstrably the production of Jewish copyists; a few are by Proselytes (hence

1 "Liber legis punctatus profanus est." Buxt. de Punct. antiq., p. 40, sq.

2 After the usage of the Middle Age; see Kopp, Bilder und Schriften, I. 178; nevertheless it was a subject of controversy among the Jews (Tychsen, Tentamen. de Var. Codd. gen. p 35), though at an earlier period a custom among them (Josephi Antiq. XII. 2, 11.)

3 See more on this in Eichhorn II. § 364, ff.

the placing of Daniel among the Prophets in the cod. 93 de Rossi, Christian subscriptions, figures and the like); but it is certain that none are the production of Christians or monks, as has been alleged; these have only occasionally furnished MSS., written by Jews, with the Vulgate, if indeed the traces of this, which are but few, are not also to be ascribed to Proselytes.[1]

None of the extant MSS. reach beyond the 12th century, as is quite demonstrable. For the MSS. which bear an earlier date are evidently placed too high by it, and the subscription is the work of a later hand.[2] Those codices which are furnished with dates, of which the oldest (No. 154 Kenn.) is placed in A.D. 1106, have issued from the Spanish Jews, of which the subscription of the cod. 326 Kenn., which adduces Toledo as the place of its composition, affords evidence.[3] Whilst we possess only 5 or 6 dated codices of the 12th century, we have nearly 50 of the 13th, about 80 of the 14th, 110 of the 15th, &c.—On the other hand, with respect to the codices which are not dated, it is very difficult to determine their age, and the internal marks which have been sought for with this intent are anything but self-approving criteria.[4] Least of all to be depended on, however, are the conclusions deduced from these marks which would assign to these MSS. a much higher antiquity than belongs to those furnished with dates, as when De Rossi *e. gr.* places cod. 634 in the 8th, cod. 503 in the 9th or 10th century, &c.[5]

With greater certainty may the country of the codices be determined, even where it is not expressly mentioned, since of this a characteristic indication is furnished particularly by the arrangement of the books, and the decorations of the MSS.;[6] not, however, by the written character, as that is entirely the square character, in respect to which it is extremly difficult to determine the variations characteristic of different countries (see above.) Those codices written for private use in the Rabbinical cursive hand, can only be viewed as an exception; they are on cotton or on common paper, with many abbreviations, without Masorah or points, and sometimes

1 See Eichhorn II. § 364, ff.

2 See the thoroughgoing proof of this by Bruns in Paulus Neuem Repertor. II. 3, ff.

3 Bruns, l. cit. s. 6, ff.

4 Comp. Schnurrer, de codd. Hebr. V. T. MSS. aetate difficulter determinanda, in his dissertatt. philol. crit. p. 1—35.

5 Var. Lectt. prolegg. I. § 16.

6 Comp. Bruns in the Neuen Theol. Journal von Ammon, Hänlein und Paulus, Bd. VI. s. 7-5, ff.

furnished with an Arabic translation. According to Kennicott they possess scarcely an antiquity of 500 years, and are of no critical value. The MSS. found among the Chinese Jews are partly Synagogue rolls, partly private MSS., and altogether resemble those with which we are familiar.[1]

§ 66. COLLECTIONS OF VARIOUS READINGS.

The collection of eastern and western readings, which was printed by Jacob Ben Chajim in the 2d ed. of the Bomberg Bible, has reference only to the variety of marginal readings, and in that case, the conclusion that it must be older than the introduction of pointing, lies under well founded doubts.[2] In the end of the 13th century R. Meir Hallevi (Haramah), the son of Todros, composed his work, ספר מסרת סיוג לתורה (printed at Florence 1750, imperfectly at Berlin 1761), in which the various readings of the codd. in the Pentateuch are noted according to the alphabetical order of the words, and followed by remarks.[3] In the 16th century Menachem de Lonzano (in his אור תורה, printed at Constantinople 1538, Ven. 1618), and Salomo Norzi (in his מנחת שי Mantua 1744) collected various readings.[4]

Among the Christians Seb. Münster and others have in their editions of the Bible appended certain various readings; a somewhat larger collection (the collation of 24 editions and 5 Erfurt MSS.) was undertaken by J. H. Michaelis in his edition of 1720; but the collation of the MSS. was done so cursorily that it is almost good for nothing.[5] Even less useful are the excerpts from MSS. to be found in the edition of Houbigant (Paris 1753.)[6] The first comprehensive collation was that made by Benj. Kennicott in 1770, who, liberally furnished with means by the English, caused nearly 600 codices in all parts of Europe, and above 50 ancient editions to be collated. A long controversy, in part conducted after a manner wholly suited to the age, led to the result that the work

[1] See the collation in Eichhorn II., § 376.
[2] See De Wette, Einl., § 92.
[3] Comp. Bruns, l. c., s. 764, ff.
[4] Comp. De Rossi, l. cit., § 37, 38.
[5] See Rosenmüller, Handbuch d. Liter. I. 234.
[6] See Rosenmüller, l. cit. II. 35, ff.

hastily put together was not the fruit of solid labour, but was almost spoiled by unskilfulness and negligence on the part of its principal managers (Bruns only excepted).[1] With much greater care and skill, and with even richer materials than his predecessors, de Rossi edited his Collection of Various Readings (Parma 1784—1788, IV. Voll., 4to), a work which, though not without defects, is still highly valued, and one of great importance for Old Testament criticism.[2] The critical editions of Doederlein and Meisner (Lips. 1793, 8vo), and of Jahn Vienn. 1807), have proceeded from extant collections, of which they contain a selection. —Only some MSS. have been fully and satisfactorily described as the Cassel one by J. D. Michaelis, the Königsberg by Lilienthal, the Nurenberg by Nagel, the Stuttgard by Schelling, &c.[3]

§ 67. PRINTED TEXT OF THE OLD TESTAMENT. PRINCIPAL EDITIONS.[4]

After, in the first instance, certain portions of the Old Testament had been issued from the press in Italy in the latter half of the 15th century, of which the Psalter, with the Comment of Kimchi printed (probably at Bologna) in 1477, in 4to, was the commencement, the whole Old Testament appeared for the first time in 1488 at Soncino in small folio, a principal edition, inasmuch as it was derived from MSS., and contains much that is peculiar, though somewhat imperfectly. From it, according to Bruns (l. c., s. 758, ff.,) were derived the Brescia edition 1494 (used by Luther), the Venetian 1518 (the Bomberg Bible), the Basel 1536 (by Seb. Münster), &c.

A second principal edition is the Complutensian Polyglott, the Hebrew text of which was edited and revised according to MSS. by Jewish Christians (1514—17). This also has been repeated in some editions.

1 Comp. the description, and especially the literary information ap. Hartmann, Tychsen on Wanderungen u. s. w. I. 405, ff., II. i. 1, ff.

2 See Rosenmüller, l. c. II. 40, ff.; Hartmann, l. c. II. i. 243, ff.

3 See Rosenmüller, l. c., s. 22, ff.

4 Comp. De Rossi de Hebr. Typograph. orig. &c. Le Long, Bibl. Sacra ed. Masch; O. G. Tychsen, and especially for the literature of this subject Hartmann, l, c. 1. 317, ff. See also Eichhorn II., § 391, ff.

The third and last principal edition is the second Bomberg Bible, edited by Jacob Ben Chajim, (Ven. 1525—26), which has been followed, though not without alterations, in most of the other editions.

A mixed text is found in the Antwerp Polyglott (1569—72), formed from the Complutensian and one of the Bomberg editions, and from this again have proceeded the Plantin editions, the Hebrew text of the Parisian (1645), and London 1657, Polyglotts, and the manual edition of Reineccius.

Also mixed and with a collation of the Venetian, Antwerpian, and other editions, is the edition of Elias Hutter (first at Hamb. 1587) of which the Nissel edition (1692) is a reprint.

Buxtorf edited a text revised with strict regard to the Masorah in his manual edition of 1611, and the Rabbinical Bible (1618, 19.)—Peculiar is the edition of Manasseh Ben Israel, produced with regard to the older editions, the Grammar and the Masorah (first at Amsterdam 1630, 31.)

The edition of Joseph Athias (first at Amsterdam 1661) was formed from two MSS. and the older editions, and to this the more recent editions are conformed, as only some of them have used in addition to it manuscript aids (as Jablonsky 1699, Opitius 1709.) With greater or less accuracy the text has been reprinted in the editions of Clodius, Leusden, J. H. Michaelis, Ev. van der Hooght, B. Kennicott, Simonis, Hahn.

CHAPTER FOURTH.

HISTORY OF THE INTERPRETATION OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

I. OF THE ANCIENT VERSIONS.

1. GREEK VERSIONS.

§ 68. ALEXANDRINE TRANSLATION.—NATURE OF IT CONSIDERED GENERALLY.

The basis of the *diction* of this translation is the Greek vulgar tongue, formed, during the later Macedonian age, with a foreign Hebrew colouring (hellenistic language),[1] which, from causes easily understood, appears with greater prominence here than in the most of the Apocrypha and the New Testament. Not only have many Hebrew words been adopted directly, and without any accommodation to the Greek idiom (such as φασὲκ, σαβέκ, βαδδὶν, ναθινὶμ, et al.), but the grammar also has in many respects been closely assimilated to what is peculiarly Hebrew.[2] The Alexandrian translator betrays himself especially by a frequent intermingling of Egyptian expressions, or at least by a use of Greek terms for Egyptian objects, thereby not only elucidating really Egyptian objects properly enough, but not unfrequently also making a foreign and unsuitable application of these.[3]

1 See concerning this Winer, Gr. des N. T. L. Sprachgebr. p. 14, ff, 2te Ausg.

2 Comp. *Schwartz*, observatt. quaed. de stilo LXX. in Olearius, de stilo N. T. p. 294, sq. Winer, p. 26, ff.

3 Comp. *e.g.* the words ἀρταβὴ (Bähr ad Herod. I. 192), παστοφορεῖον (Creuzer, Symb. I. p. 247), σχοῖνος (Ps. cxxxix. 3, comp. Bähr ad Her. II. 6), ἶβις et al. See Hody, de bibliorum text. original. l. II. c. 4. Gesenius, Comment. z. Jes. I. p. 60. Sturz, de dial Maced. Alexandr. p. 84, sq.

The translator, on the one hand, certainly adheres to the exegetical tradition of his contemporaries in Palestine. How much he has availed himself of the aid hereby proffered, is apparent especially from the considerable number of correctly interpreted phrases, which are ἅπ. λεγόμενα, and generally obscure and enigmatical,[1] having in most cases to be elucidated by means of the cognate dialects only; of which those Alexandrians were familiar only with the Aramæan—hardly with the Arabic.[2]

On the other hand there is manifestly a want of fidelity, literality, and precision. An indifference about the literal rendering of the original betrays itself in the translation, and a tendency rather to *suit* and *recommend itself* to the age and its customs. Hence what seemed less intelligible is arbitrarily changed; the tropical phrase, for instance, is confounded with the natural.[3] Where the meaning of the original seems to the translator to be unsuitable in respect alike to what is historical, æsthetical, and doctrinal, he also indulges in more or less arbitrary alterations.[4] In making additions, omissions, and other alterations at pleasure, he does not confine himself to single phrases and expressions, but extends such to whole sections. This is especially apparent where the translator —more ambitious for originality—had to contend with a difficult ground-text (as in the book of Job), or where the character of a particular age and book afforded scope for a freer execution (as in Jeremiah, Daniel, Esther.)[5]

Much as the translator seems disposed, from national pride, to introduce allusions to the Jews of Egypt into his work,[6] yet doctrinal and philosophical representations of Alexandrian Judaism, as existing at a later period, are not traceable,—the Alexandrian school language does not even appear. Opinions and doctrines are marked only by what is Jewish in general,—not by anything peculiarly Alexandrian.[7] The only thing that in this respect stands

1 Comp. Fischer, prolusiones, in quibus varii loci versionum vett. graec. explicantur et illustrantur. Lips. 1799, 8. Eichhorn, Einl. I. p. 469, ff.

2 Comp. Gesenius, loc. cit. p. 63 Hartmann, linguist. Einl. p. 322, ff.

3 See *e.g.* Gesenius, loc. cit. p. 57, ff. For the deviations of the Alexandrine translation from the Hebrew text generally, see the vouchers in Cappelli crit. s. l. IV.

4 Comp. Carpzov, crit. s. p. 505, sqq.

5 See my Commentary on the Book of Daniel, p. XLVI. ff.

6 Comp. Gesenius, loc. cit. p. 62.

7 Comp. Baumgarten-Crusius, bibl. Theol. p. 110, ff.

forth characteristically is an attempt at syncretism—an accommodating of what is Jewish to what is heathenish.[1]

Along with this, the varied character of the several books must not be overlooked, whose unequal rendering was early noticed, and is at once apparent. Thus, the translation of the Pentateuch is distinguished by being literal as well as elegant.[2] So also the book of Ecclesiastes differs from the others in its servile literality; at the same time in the very defective style peculiar to it, &c.[3] Add to this, the varied rendering of the same Hebrew phrase in the different books, which can be sufficiently explained only on the supposition of a variety of authors.[4] Whilst Bertholdt has here made the bold assertion, that "almost each book discovers traces of a different translator,"[5] such an observation can be vindicated only by having respect to differences characteristic of the whole, and not merely to single words; and besides Valckenaer has very properly pointed to the fact, that differences in individual cases were in a great measure called forth by the confusion of the text introduced at a later period, in support of the opinion that the translators were but few in number.[6]

§ 69. PRINCIPLES ON WHICH THIS PECULIARITY IS TO BE EXPLAINED.

To explain the peculiar character of this translation, recourse has been had to singular hypotheses, the most notable of which is that of O. G. Tychsen, setting forth that the translation had proceeded from Hebrew MSS., written in Greek characters;[7] some externalities have also been adduced which have served to clear discrepancies

[1] Comp. *e.g.* ἀλήθεια (f. תְּמִים comp. Diodor. Sic. I. 75. ὃ *προσηγόρευον* (the Egyptians) Ἀλήθειαν. Aelian. V. H. XIV. 34. *καὶ ἐκαλεῖτο τὸ ἄγαλμα* Ἀλήθεια, De Wette, Archäol. § 199), the doctrine concerning guardian angels (Deuter. xxxiii. 2. Comp. Winer, Reallex I. p. 388,) ἱερόδουλος (f. נְתִינִים, 3 Esdr. i. 2, v. 53, 58, viii. 5, 51) ἐξηγεῖσθαι (Levit. xiv. 57. Ruhnken ad Timaei lex. Pl. p. 111) et al.

[2] Quos (sc. libros Mosis) nos quoque plus quam ceteros profitemur consonare cum Hebraicis. Hieronymus praef. ad quaest. in Genes.

[3] Comp. Jahn, Einl. I. s. 159, ff.

[4] Comp. Hody, l. cit. p 244, sqq. L. Bos, prolegg. ad edit. LXX. interpp. cap. 1.

[5] Einl. II. p. 533.

[6] See his Diatribe de Aristobulo Judaeo ed. Luzac, p. 62, sq. Comp Hall. Lit. Zeit. 1816, I. s. 18

[7] See his Tentamen de variis codicum Hebr. V T. Mss. generibus, Rostoch. 1772.

here and there, and are therefore certainly worthy of regard; but they have failed to discover the true principles of the construction of the text. To this class belong, errors caused by imperfect hearing in the case of dictation;[1] differences in the original manuscripts from which the translation was made;[2] ignorance and negligence on the part of the translators.

The translation itself, by unmistakeable marks, points out Alexandria as the place of its origin. Its nature can therefore be adequately estimated only by a knowledge of the character and position of the Jews resident there. Judaism taken generally, being an element standing by itself, and conspicuous for its nicely defined peculiarity, was regarded by heathen antiquity with hatred and scorn; and in Alexandria this relation held the place of a prominent feature.[3] This naturally produced a spirit of emulation, and a tendency to go in with the manner of life and general spirit peculiar to the locality,—a tendency to syncretism, by which they sought to vindicate what was their own by assuming what was foreign. The translation now under consideration may be regarded as the earliest effort of such a tendency; and from the time of its origin we are able distinctly to follow its evident progress.

The literary spirit of Alexandria was from the time of the first Ptolemies, generally characterised by a tendency to fall back on the productions of a brilliant antiquity, already on the eve of vanishing away.[4] The vigorous age of Greek originality, and the free development of a highly polished genius, were succeeded by rich and varied learning, and a tame imitating of the ancient models, which were eagerly studied and lauded. Thus there arose among these scholars a peculiar branch of scientific pursuit, which applied itself to the *criticism* and *interpretation* of the ancient authors; both of these, however, they performed, not in a modern, but in a peculiarly antique style.[5]

Against this especially (Hassenkamp): Entdeckter Ursprung der alten Bibelübersetzungen. Minden 1775. For a history of the contraversy s. Tychsen von Hartmann, II. 1 s. 41, ff.

[1] So Hassenkamp, loc cit. s. 36, ff. Hartmann, ling. Einl. s. 35, ff.

[2] This was brought forward with especial partiality by Cappellus and his school.

[3] Comp. Joseph. de b. Jud. II. 18: κατὰ δὲ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ἀεὶ μὲν ἦν στάσις πρὸς τὸ Ἰουλαϊκὸν τοῖς ἐγχωρίοις. Gieseler, K. Gesch. I. s. 46, ff.

[4] Comp. Heyne, de genio seculi Ptolemaeorum, opusc. acad. I. p. 76, sqq. Matter, essai historique sur l'école d'Alexandrie. Paris, 1820.

[5] Comp. Wolf, prolegg. ad Homerum, p. CXCIV. sq.

The Alexandrian criticism set out from assuming the perfection of the writer (*e.g.* of Homer, Hesiod), and determined the genuineness of an expression or passage according to its character as compared with this presumed perfection. The object aimed at was not to ascertain and establish the original as such, but to judge (*κριτικοὶ*, aestimatores) and amend authors, according to aesthetic principles, and "grammar." Eustathius therefore calls these critics *τοὺς κατὰ τὴν γραμματικὴν παράδοσιν εἰδότας κρίνειν τὰ ποιήματα*. Hence they were most skilful grammarians (*δοκιμώτατοι γραμματικοί*. Athenaeus.)[1] The consequence of this principle of criticism was an unbounded license in the amending, especially of Homer,—a proceeding which without this principle would be quite incomprehensible.[2]

The principles of interpretation advocated by the Alexandrians, were intimately connected with this criticism. As there, so here, they started with the principle of perfection, especially in Homer, inasmuch as, regarding him as the source of all science and knowledge, they also sought to place him in harmony with the speculation and scientific developments of their day. Such *ζητήματα* were the occupations of the *λυτικοὶ*,[3] who, following more ancient philosophers, brought allegorical interpretation more and more into vogue.

How much the translation of the Old Testament by the Alexandrian Jews, critically considered, is in keeping with this profane criticism, is seen at a glance. In this translation we have also a grammatical *διόρθωσις*, which followed the original, and critical and exegetical tradition, only so far as this could be done in unison with the other purposes of the translators. In this way scope was given for a freer exposition of the Holy Scripture, and Alexandrian Judaism had now an opportunity of possessing something peculiarly its own, and of placing itself on a par with, or rather above, heathenism. This tendency shewed itself prominently even in the case of Aristobulus (in the beginning of the 2d century B.C.), who

[1] Comp. Clericus, ars critica I., p. 2, Wolff, l. cit. p. CCXXXIII., sq.

[2] So says Wolf, *e.g.* about Zenodatus' review of Homer: saepe praeclarissimos et optimos versus expungit, interdum totas *θέσεις* contaminat, alia contrahit, alia addit, omnemque sibi in Iliada velut in proprium opus, arrogat potestatem.—Sed ineptissime versatur passim in transponendo et in lacunis, quas temere facit, suo ingenio explendis etc., p. CCI. sq.

[3] Comp. Lud. Küster, historia crit. Homeri sect. VI.

regarded the Mosaic Law as the basis of the more deep and important philosophy of the Greeks, taken as a whole, and by whom the beginnings of allegorical interpretation were even then being developed, which practice was ever coming into greater and more decided repute, as is proved by the example of Philo, and that of the many ancients who thought with him, and whom he frequently appealed to.[1]

§ 70. HOW THE ALEXANDRIAN TRANSLATION ORIGINATED. OLDEST HISTORY THEREOF.

As respects the Alexandrian origin of the LXX.; the earliest historical notice which in this respect we possess, bears important testimony, affording, at the same time, minute information concerning its rise. Aristobulus,[2] in seeking to prove the acquaintance of the old Greek philosophers with the Law, maintains that a translation of the Pentateuch existed even before the time of Ptolemy Philadelphus and Demetrius Phalereus, of which those philosophers availed themselves; he then adds: *ἡ δ' ὅλη ἑρμηνεία τῶν διὰ τοῦ νόμου πάντων ἐπὶ τοῦ προσαγορευθέντος φιλαδέλφου βασιλέως—Δημητρίου τοῦ Φαληρέως πραγματευσαμένου τὰ περὶ τούτων.*

The hypothesis concerning a Greek translation as existing so far back as the times of Pythagoras, Plato, and others, devised for the sake of the system of Aristobulus, must here be entirely set aside. It is however important that he mentions it as a thing known and settled in his day, that the translation of the Old Testament, then in existence, must be traced to the times of Ptolemy Philadelphus and Demetrius Phalereus. He evidently regards Demetrius Phalereus (*πραγματευσαμένου τὰ περὶ τούτων*) as having occasioned it. As so ancient a testimony this notice is deserving in the outset

1 Comp. Döpke, Hermeneutik der N.T.L. Schriftst. s. 111, ff.—Long ago the truth here was seen by Cellarius (de LXX. interpp § 20): erat illo tempore non optimus status ecclesiae Judaeorum, sed a literali sensu ut plurimum ad allegoricum desiliebatur: quae causa fuit, ut mallent sensum aliquem interpretes sequi, qui tum receptus erat inter Judaeos, quam qui litteris et verborum ordine ex contextu se proferebat.

2 In his Commentary on the Pentateuch (*ὁ τῶν ἱερῶν νόμων ἑρμηνεία*. Euseb. praep. evang. VII. 13). Fragment in Clem. Al. stromm. I. p. 342, ed. Sylburg, und Euseb. pr. ev. IX. 6; XIII. 11.

of full confidence, principally because of its simplicity; it gains still more in this respect, when closely examined. For if we consult *history*, it in no respect contradicts it, as has been imagined. Demetrius certainly did not live under Ptolemy Philadelphus, but under his predecessor, Pt. Lagus, and died soon after his death.[1] But Aristobulus mentions him as only the originator of the work, and says that *the whole* was accomplished only under Pt. Philadelphus. But what is mentioned about Demetrius Phalereus, especially what he did under Ptolemy Lagus, is quite in keeping with this. He advised the king in particular: *τὰ περὶ βασιλείας καὶ ἡγεμονίας βιβλία κτᾶσθαι καὶ ἀναγινώσκειν*,[2] and acted an important part in the legislation introduced by him.[3] He himself was conspicious as an author, and, (according to Diogenes Laertius) excelled all the Peripatetics of his day, in the most diversified sciences.

Along with this we must take into consideration the kind disposition manifested by Pt. Lagus towards the Jews. Among those who voluntarily left their own country to live under his government in Egypt, was the wise High-priest Ezechias, on whom a contemporary author pronounces the highest eulogies.[4]—Even Hecataeus, in his book on Egypt, shows himself so favourably disposed towards the Jews, that it is evident during what period, and under what influence he lived; at all events, we must in his case presuppose a certain degree of familiarity with the Jewish writings.[5]

If in this way a share in the work is to be ascribed to Demetrius Phalereus, then it is evident, that the design of it was chiefly

1 S. Hermippus ap. Diogen. Laert. V. 78.

2 Plutarch apophthegm. reg. t. VIII. p. 124, ed. Hutten.

3 *Συνὼν τῷ Πτολεμαίῳ νομοθεσίας ἦρξε.* Aelian, Var. hist. III. 17, s. Perizonius ad h. l.

4 Hecataeus Abderita ap. Joseph. c. Apion. I. p. 1048: *τὴν ψυχὴν οὔτ' ἀνόητος, ἔτι δὲ καὶ λέγειν δυνατὸς καὶ τοῖς περὶ τῶν πραγμάτων εἰπερ τις ἄλλος ἔμπειρος.*

5 From which the non-genuineness of the fragments of Hec. ought by no means to have been inferred; see Hengstenberg, Beiträge I., p. 281.—This shows also in how modified a sense the arguments against the familiarity of heathen authors with the Old Testament, advanced by Hody against the participation of Demetrius in such a work, must be understood (s. l. cit. l. II. c. 3.) Why should there not, in Alexandria, have been a time, when a lively interest prevailed in behalf of the literature peculiar to the Jewish nation—especially considering the predilection for the East, awakened since the time of Alexander? Compare also the manner in which Hermippus—(at the time of Ptolemy Euergetos)—also under this Alexandrine influence—declares himself for an affinity between Pythagorean philosophy and the Mosaic Law; Joseph. c. Ap. I, p. 1046.

literary. To this it has been objected that the translation was called forth rather by the exigency of the Egyptian Jews, and was executed for ecclesiastical purposes, especially that of being read in the synagogues.[1] But apart from the circumstance that the question here is one of ancient historical testimony, which ought never to be treated lightly, we maintain that in this way the character of the translation can never be explained. And the supposition that it was originally designed for religious purposes is all the less admissible, inasmuch as Alexandrine Judaism being ever eager to maintain an at least external bond of ecclesiastical union with Palestine, a closer adherence to the tendency prevalent there would have been the consequence.[2] Besides, we know so little about the rise of synagogues in Egypt (Philo mentions them first), that this hypothesis is destitute of all historical authority.

Aristobulus says that all the books of the Old Testament were at that time translated into Greek, and that the work was begun under Demetrius Phalereus,[3] accordingly under Ptolemy Lagus, and finished under Ptolemy Philadelphus. This testimony it has been attempted to explain as if Aristolulus was here speaking of the Pentateuch only.[4] But manifestly with injustice, for the words: *τῶν διὰ τοῦ νόμου*, especially appealed to, must be understood as used by Alexandrians, who attaching to the Law as compared with the other books of Scripture, the idea of superiority, regarded the latter in the light of a supplement to the former, and used the phrase *νόμος* in the wider acceptation. Besides, the context is expressly opposed to such an explanation of what Aristobulus says, for he regards the Pentateuch as translated already at a much earlier period; to this the proper antithesis would be: "the remaining portion of Scripture," and this is evidently implied in the words: *ἡ δ' ὅλη ἑρμηνεία*, and *τῶν—πάντων*.[5] Again, Aristobulus could not have said that the translation of the Pentateuch alone required the time he mentions. It follows that a more comprehensive work was meant.

1 Thus after the example of Hody, l. cit. p. 99, many others, s. Bertholdt, s. 524, de Wette, s. 60.

2 Comp. Gieseler, K. Gesch. I., p. 49, ff. [Davidson's Translation, I. 42.—Tr.]

3 On which account he at first names him *alone*: *διηρμήνευται πρὸ Δημητρίου τ. φαλ.* etc.

4 S. Hody, l. cit. p. 168.

5 Comp. Valckenaer, l cit. p. 61, sq.

The testimony of Aristobulus has been disputed on internal grounds also. But though it is readily conceded, that the translation was effected by degrees, still, the character of the work by no means argues an intervention of very long periods during the process of its execution.—For what has been said about the completion of the whole after Ptol. Philadelphus, will not stand a strict examination.[1] Thus an appeal in proof that the translation of the Book of Esther was finished under Ptol. Philometer has been made to a subscription, according to which this book was brought to Egypt under a Ptolemy and Cleopatra. But this subscription refers only to the apocryphal additions to the Book of Esther, which certainly are of a much later date than the rest of the translation.[2] Other grounds of dispute are, as a whole, based on differences of quotation (in the case of Sirach, Philo), as compared with our present text, the numerous modified forms in which the LXX. subsequently appeared being entirely overlooked, and a hasty conclusion come to, respecting the late origin of the translation of an entire book.

§ 71. CONTINUATION. FURTHER HISTORY OF THE ALEXANDRINE TRANSLATION.

The next testimony from history respecting the Alexandrian translation is the prologue of the Book of Sirach, all the more interesting because it contains the opinion of a Jew of Palestine on the subject. He begs the indulgence of his readers in respect to his own translation (*οὐ γὰρ ἰσοδυναμεῖ αὐτὰ*, etc.,) and adds: *οὐ μόνον δὲ ταῦτα ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ νόμος καὶ αἱ προφητεῖαι καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν βιβλίων οὐ μικρὰν ἔχει τὴν διαφορὰν ἐν ἑαυτοῖς λεγόμενα.* The author even says, that during his residence among the Egyptians he had observed a striking dissimilarity in their whole *παιδεία* (spiritual training),[3] and thus discloses the differences existing between the Jews of Palestine and Egypt, not only in the varied style of writing peculiar to each, but also in matters of deeper import,—the difference of their position in respect to the law, and

1 See the grounds for this most acutely stated by Hody, p. 188, sq.

2 Comp. Walton, prolegg. p. 367, sq. Valckenaer, p. 33 and 63.

3 See Bretschneider's Comment. p. 47, sq., for a correct interpretation of the somewhat obscure words, *εὗρον οὐ μικρᾶς παιδείας ἀφόμοιον.*

the manner of apprehending and treating it peculiar to them respectively.[1]

In what other respects this difference became apparent, and the manner of its progress in general, cannot now be ascertained with accuracy. At all events the Alexandrians seem to have been aware of the importance of raising their translation to a high standard, and of guarding against all grounds for any doubt about its harmony with the original. In this way legends, having their origin in a highly embellished representation of facts, were fabricated for the purpose of placing the translation in a favourable light. Such a legendary representation of the origin of this translation is the letter addressed by Aristeas, a functionary at the Court of Ptolemy Philadelphus, to his brother Philocrates, which sets forth, that the law was translated at the instance of Demetrius Phalereus by seventy-two scribes, invited for that purpose from Palestine.[2] This document, supported by a profusion of spurious records,[3] has for its basis *some* historical facts, which, however, are altered and embellished at pleasure: as, for instance, the part taken in the translation by Demetrius, the interest evinced by Philadelphus in the carrying out of the work, the liberation of the captive Jews in Egypt, &c.,—so that its spuriousness needs no further proof.[4]

The design of the legend is manifestly, on the one hand, to enhance the claims of the translation by setting forth the part taken in it by heathen; and on the other, to give prominence to its authentic harmony with the original by representing the learned of Palestine as its authors. This design is apparent especially towards the close, where Demetrius commands, after the reading of the Law is finished, to pronounce an anathema on him who ventures in the least particular to alter it.[5] From quite a similar spirit has

1 Whence he was able, with peculiar emphasis, to recommend to the Egyptians, a book, written so much in the genuine spirit of Palestine, as the sayings of Sirach.

2 Best edited by Hody, l. cit. p. 1, sq. For the remaining portion of the literature of this fictitious piece see Rosenmüller, Handb. d. Liter. der Bibl. Krit. u. Exeg. s. 344, ff.

3 According to the Alexandrian way; comp. the 2d and 3d B. of Makkab., the Supplements to the B. of Esther, &c.

4 See on this subject Hody, l. cit. l. 1 (especially against the defence of Is. Vossius), Rosenmüller, loc. cit. p. 358, ff.

5 P. XXXV. ed. Hody: *ἐκέλευσε διαράσασθαι καθὼς ἔθος αὐτοῖς ἐστιν; εἴ τις διασκευάσει, προστιθεὶς ἢ μεταφέρων τι ἀπὸ σύνολον τῶν γεγραμμένων, ἢ ποιούμενος ἀφαίρεσιν· καλῶς τοῦτο πράσσοντες, ἵνα διὰ παντὸς ἀέναα καὶ μένοντα φυλάσσηται.*

proceeded the commentum of Greek grammarians, to the effect that Pisistratus had united 72 (or 70) learned men to revise the text of Homer, and that the Recensions of Zenodotus and Aristarchus were declared the most excellent,—the chronological error affording in this case also an instructive parallel.[1]

This letter was known even to Josephus, and he has with some unimportant alterations embodied it in his Archäology,[2]—a proceeding adopted repeatedly by this author.[3] Philo has made a freer use of it. As to the chief particular—that of the Palestinian origin of the translation—he certainly is at one with it; but in other respects, he adds to the legend kindred embellishments.[4] The translators, each by himself, accomplish the work, and in virtue of a wonderful inspiration, they all harmonize exactly. The syncretistic-Alexandrian character of the legend is in this case still more apparent, inasmuch as Philo not only prominently holds up to view the participation of Philadelphus in the translation, but also fixes the Isle of Pharos as the place where it was made, and supposes that the festival there celebrated in honour of Isis,[5] may have been dedicated to the origin of this translation.[6] As in the letter of Aristeas, so here mention is made of the Law only, in accordance with the Alexandrian idea of its peculiar sanctity.

This legend,—perhaps at first orally fabricated,—may not have assumed a written form until shortly before the times of Philo and Josephus. This circumstance might at least throw light on the way in which Philo makes use of it. The high respect, at that time, paid to the translation in question by the hellenistic Jews, who made use of it even in the Synagogues,[7] invested the legend with most decided popularity. Even the Jews of Palestine received these representations, and traces of them appear in the Talmud.[8]

[1] Comp. Leo Allatius, de patria Homeri c. 5. Villoison, anecdota Gr. II. p. 182, sqq.

[2] S. Ant. XII., 2, 2—14. Concerning the differences see Rosenmüller, loc. cit. p. 362, ff.

[3] *E.g.* in the case of the apocryphal additions to the book of Esther, comp. Ant. XI. 6, 6, ff.; in the case of apocryphal Ezra, S. Ant. XI., 1, ff.

[4] De vita Mosis II. p. 660, ed. Mangey.

[5] Pharia of Isis. Comp. Marsham, canon chron. p. 154. Creuzer, Symb. I., s. 320, II., s. 349.

[6] There is no ground whatever with Eichhorn (Repert I., s. 266, ff.), because of these digressions of Philo, for endeavouring to find the Palestinian account of the matter in the letter of Aristeas, and the Alexandrian in the story of Philo.

[7] Comp. Hody, l. cit. p. 224, sq. Josephus also uses it more than the Hebrew text; see the writings quoted by De Wette, s. 61.

S. Morinus, exercitt. bibl. t. I., p. 352, sqq.

These legends were most readily received by the Christian Fathers, and with them they partially assumed new and anomalous misrepresentations and embellishments of the original facts;[1] besides the Philonic notion of the inspiration of this translation.[2] Only the sound critical mind of Jerome opposed these fables and combated them resolutely.[3]

§ 72. THE RISE OF NEW GREEK TRANSLATIONS.

Notwithstanding the high estimation in which the Alexandrian version was held by Jews and Christians, still the occurrence of differences could not fail to awaken suspicions as to its authority. This seems, in the first instance, to have been the case with the more strict Jews of Palestine, who, in course of time, were led to regard it as a heretical performance,[4] since Greek literature, and the study of it, had, especially since the destruction of Jerusalem, become obnoxious to them. But the Christians, who ever entertained a high regard for the origin of the translation, sustained their part in the controversy by accusing the Jews of having corrupted the text of the LXX., from motives of opposition to the doctrines of Christianity. Both these features appear very characteristically in the writings of Justin Martyr: the Jews with him maintain (*διδασκάλοις ὑμῶν, οἵτινες τολμῶσι λέγειν*), that the translation of the LXX. is incorrect;[5] but he everywhere declares himself convinced that the Alexandrine translation embraces the correct reading, and that the Jews have corrupted the text.[6] In this way the Alexandrine translation continued to be an authentic document in the hands of Christians, whilst the Jews were making efforts to become possessed of purer translations wherewith to oppose them. Thus there arose in the second century after Christ the translations of Aquila and Theodotion, of whom Irenaeus

1 Thus in Justin Martyr, cohortatio ad Graec. c. 13, and most anomalously in Epiphanius de ponder. et mens. c. 3, 6, 9–11. Comp. Rosenmüller, loc. cit. p. 370, ff.

2 So Irenaeus, adv. haer. III., 25. Clemens Al., stromm. I., p. 342, ed. Potter u. a.

3 Praef. in Pentat.: nescio quis primus auctor cellulas Alexandriae mendacio suo exstruxerit etc. praef. in Paralip.: quae (72 cellulae) sine auctore jactantur.

4 See passages of the Talmud in De Wette, p. 64.

5 *Τὴν ἐξήγησιν ἣν ἐξηγήσαντο οἱ ἑβδομήκοντα ὑμῶν πρεσβύτεροι παρὰ Πτολεμαίῳ —μὴ εἶναι ἔν τισιν ἀληθῆ*, dial. c. Tryph. c. 68.

6 Comp. Zastraw, de Justini M. stud. bibl, I. p. 27, sq.

makes first mention, characterizing the authors as Jews, and apparently as contemporaries.[1] The former produced a literally verbatim translation of the Old Testament, so much so as to make it absolutely unintelligible. By the Jews this production was received with a decided welcome, and it was preferred by them to the LXX.[2] as much as it was odious to the Fathers.[3] Even Jerome, who in general treats this author with great predilection as a "verborum Hebræorum diligentissimus explorator" (ep. 138 ad Marc.) reproaches him for his bigotry and controversial leaning.[4] Jerome also mentions a second edition by Aquila.[5] The translation of Theodotion was freer, inasmuch as it professed to be an editio castigata of the LXX.[6] Whilst Justin Martyr in the keenness of controversy with the Jews unhesitatingly preferred the LXX. to the translation of Theodotion,[7] the later Fathers, such as Origen, were led to avail themselves of a revision of Theodotion, for their own purposes; and especially the book of Daniel thus prepared obtained an universal introduction into the Church, for which Jerome could not account on any of the grounds usually leading to such a result. How much Origen prized the translation of Theodotion is apparent from the use he made of it in the Hexapla (see below). This also appears from the sayings of the later Fathers, who make him now an Ebionite (licet eum quidam dicant Ebionitam. Hieron. praef. comm. in Dan.), now a Marcionite. (Epiphan.) That the Jews had received his work with particular predilection, and had at a later period been followed in this by Christians, as has recently been maintained,[8] is quite inadmissible, since everywhere mention is made of their predilection for Aquila only, and scarcely would the Church go into this view. Theodotion's

1 Adv. haer. III., 24: At non ut quidam ajunt, *qui scripturam nunc audent* μεθερμηνεύειν, perperam interpretari—*sicut*—Theodotion Ephesius et Aquila Ponticus, uterque Judaeus proselytus. Apocryphal fables concerning both in Epiphan. de pond. et mens. c. 13, sq.

2 Origenes, ep. ad Afric: φιλοτιμότερον πεπιστευμένος παρὰ Ἰουδαίους ἡρμηνευκέναι τὴν λραφήν.

3 Comp. Iren. l. cit. Euseb. ad. Ps. xc. 4, etc.

4 Hieron. ad Es. xlix. 5: De Aquila autem non miror, quod homo eruditissimus linguae Hebraicae in hoc loco aut simularit imperitiam, aut Pharisaeorum perversa interpretatione deceptus sit. etc.

5 Ad Ezech. c. 3: Aquilae secunda editio quam Hebraei κατ' ἀκρίβειαν nominant. s. Eichhorn I., § 188.

6 LXX. et Theodot. sicut in pluribus locis, ita et hoc quoque concordant. Hier. ad Eccles. ii.

7 See my comment. on the book of Daniel, s. XLV. ff.

8 See E.von Lengerke, d. B. Daniel erl. s. CVII. ff.

work seems to have been preferred partly because of its greater harmony with the LXX., and partly because it could be adduced in opposition to the Jews with greater advantage than the Alexandrine translation, which they repudiated, without thereby yielding to their views—especially since it was got up for this very purpose.

Already Irenaeus says that the Jew-Christians (Ebionites) had made a special use of both the translations mentioned. With their good knowledge of Hebrew,[1] and their zeal for the Old Testament,[2] it much concerned them to be able, in controversy, to appeal with more certainty to the ground-text of the Old Testament. Thus there proceeded from them also a peculiar translation known by the name of Symmachus. This translation was not yet known to Irenaeus, and on this account may be regarded as of a later date than the other two. Jerome was of opinion that the author had made use of Theodotion (in Theodotionis scita concedens torquere posuit, ad Esai. lviii. 6), and that the latter, for this reason, had sometimes been taken for an Ebionite.[3] That Symmachus did belong to the Ebionites is expressly stated by Eusebius[4] and Jerome,—also by Syrian authors.[5] He allowed himself greater liberties (non verbum e verbo, sed sensum ex sensu transtulit. Hieron.), and seems to have been careful to produce a purer Greek idiom, on which account his work was in this respect much approved of (versio perspicua, manifesta, admirabilis, aperta.)[6]

The other Greek translations known by the names of *Quinta*, *Sexta*, *Septima*, whose authors were unknown even to Origen,[7] seem to have had the same object in view with those of an earlier date, and only prove what strenuous efforts were put forth, from controversial motives, for ascertaining and fixing the Hebrew text

1 Ἑβραϊκὴν δὲ διάλεκτον ἀκριβῶς εἰσιν ἠσκημένοι. Epiphan. adv. haer. 29, 7.

2 This is perhaps meant by the otherwise obscure expression of Irenaeus: quaecunque prophetica erant, ceteris *curiosius exponere nitebantur*; adv. haer. I., 36, (Credner, in Winer's Zeitschr. f. wissensch. Theol. I., 2. s. 223.) Comp. Hieron. praef. in Esr. et Nehem.: Graecorum studium et benevolentiam, qui post LXX. translatores—Judaeos et Hebionitas, legis veteris interpretes, Aquilam videlicet et Symm. et Theod., et *curiose legunt* et per Origenis laborem, etc.

3 Comp. *e.g.* Hieron. praef. in Job: Judaeus Aq. et Symm. et Theod. Judaizantes haeretici, qui multa mysteria Salvatoris subdola interpretatione celarunt.

4 Dem. ev. VII. 1 u. eccl. VI. 17. He also here mentions a commentary by the same author on the Gospel of the Hebrews. Comp. Neander, K. Gesch. I. 3, p. 803.

5 S. Assemani, bibl. Orient. II. p. 278, III. 1, p. 17.

6 Comp. Hody, l. cit. p. 588. Thieme, de puritate Symmachi. Lips. 1735, 4.

7 Editiones—auctoritatem sine nominibus interpretum consecutas. Hieronymus comment. ad Tit. c. 3.

in the translation. The authors of these were also in all probability Jew-Christians—at least the author of the *Sexta* betrays himself as such in Habak. iii. 13, ἐξῆλθες τοῦ σῶσαι τον λαόν σου διὰ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου. This is also manifest from the testimony of Jerome.[1] All the translators do not seem to have translated the whole of the Old Testament, and since their performances were rather of a paraphrastic nature, they seem soon to have sunk into oblivion.[2] Hence probably the somewhat strange stories about their having been discovered by Origen.[3]

§ 73. THE HEXAPLA OF ORIGEN.

Even in Philo we find passages of a corrupted text of the LXX., which must be traced to negligence on the part of transcribers. An old oversight of this kind is probably the τραφεὶς instead of ταφεὶς (Gen. xv. 15) in Philo, Quis rer. div. haer. p. 519. A difference had from this also arisen in the codices, as (Jerem. xv. 10) οὐκ ὠφείλησα οὐδὲ ὠφείλησέ με οὐδείς, Philo de conf. ling. p. 327; on which Origen remarks: δισσὴ γάρ ἐστιν ἡ γραφή. Ἐν μὲν γὰρ τοῖς πλείστοις ἀντιγράφοις· ὠφέλησα, οὐδὲ ὠφέλησέ με οὐδείς: ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἀκριβεστάτοις καὶ συμφωνοῦσι τοῖς Ἑβραϊκοῖς, etc.[4]

The writings of Justin Martyr discover a still greater corruption of the text. He as yet is unacquainted with any translation of the Old Testament besides the LXX. whose reading he frequently defends from Jewish assaults. But the text of Justin is in many instances a departure from the Alexandrine translation. He has this peculiarity, that he keeps closer by the Hebrew original, and thus not unfrequently harmonizes with the later Jewish translations; but

1 Apol. c. Rufin. II. 34: Judaicos translatores,—which Eichhorn (I. s. 545, N. d.) incorrectly regards as an indefinite expression of Jerome.

2 See Euseb. h. eccl. VI. 16.

3 Comp. Epiphan. de pond. et mens. c. 17, mit Euseb. l. cit. und Hieron. praef. in Orig. homil. in Cant. Cantic.

4 Cf. Spohn Jer. vat. e vers. Jud. Alex. etc. I., p. 247.—Not always, however, is a citation from Philo to be received as his original reading, since his text has in many cases been amended so as to correspond with later Greek translations. Comp. Wesseling epist. de Aquilae in scriptis Philonis Jud. fragmentis, etc. Traj. ad Rhen. 1748. Amersfoordt de variis lection. Holmes. dissert. p. 94, sq.

often the text he followed is found now only in single manuscripts—(to wit, in the cod. Alexandr. Cotton., Coislin.)[1] This circumstance must not be understood as if implying that Justin made use of the translation of Theodotion or even of that of Symmachus;[2] the history of these translations distinctly precludes this. All is sufficiently explained so soon as we assume that Justin had before him a text of the LXX. prepared by Jews, or more probably by Jew-Christians, since even at that time earnest controversy[3] seems to have called forth efforts for adapting the text more to the Hebrew original. The proceeding of the Jew-Christians in reference to the New Testament text of the Gospels perfectly justifies this assumption; and in the case of Justin we are all the more at liberty to presuppose such a text, inasmuch as he seems to have been well acquainted with the Jew-Christians, and to have been favourably disposed towards them.[4]

The confusion would increase when at a later period peculiar translations were made, of which each sect, according to its peculiarity, availed itself.—By this means the emendations in the text of the LXX., with which a beginning had been made, were only multiplied.

Thus, in the days of Origen, diversity in the MSS. of the LXX. had become considerable.[5] He himself traces this not merely to negligence on the part of copyists, but chiefly to a passion for amending, and to the audacity displayed by some in making these emendations; which quite agrees with what has been already said about the corruption of the text.—This text was called *κοινή*, and by the Latins accordingly editio vulgata, communis,[6] an expression borrowed from the Alexandrian Critics who thus designated the older unrevised text of Homer as it was before the introduction of grammatical *διορθώσεις*.[7]

Origen had frequent opportunities of experiencing the embar-

1 S. Amersfoordt, I. cit. p. 95, sqq.

2 As Stroth will have it, in Repertor. II., s. 75, ff.

3 Besides the dial. c. Tryph. we know of *ἀντιλογία Παπίσκου καὶ Ἰάσονος*, written under Hadrian,—also an Apology against Judaism. S. Gieseler, K. G. I., S. 159.

4 Comp. Credner, Beiträge z. Einl. in die bibl. Schr. I., s. 96. ff.

5 *Νυνὶ δὲ δηλονότι πολλὴ γέγονεν ἡ τῶν ἀντιγράφων διαφορά.* comm. in Matth. tom. XV. opp. III., p. 671, ed. de la Rue.

6 Editionem, quam Origenes et Caesariensis Eusebius omnesque Graeciae tractatores *κοινὴν* i.e. communem appellant atque vulgatam. Hieron. epist. CVI. ad Suhniam et Fretelam.

7 S. Hug, Einl. in d. N. T. I., § 22.

rassment arising in polemics from this difference; he accordingly undertook the execution of a διόρθωσις of the Alexandrine text in the work entitled the *Hexapla*, which occupied him for many years.[1] His object was to place in a clear light the distinction between the Jewish and Christian texts:[2] the nature of his work was therefore not critical, but rather exegetical and polemical, and it was intended to aid the defence of Christianity against Judaism. It did not come within the scope of this undertaking to restore a critically amended text of the LXX., by a collation of manuscripts; it seemed more in keeping with the object in view, by a collocation of the various versions with the original, to make the difference self-evident. These were therefore arranged in columns by Origen; see on this attempt Jerome, comm. ad. Tit. c. 3. First came the Hebrew in the original text; then followed the same text written in Greek characters, for the sake of correct pronunciation. Origen himself possessed a number of Hebrew manuscripts, which he had obtained during his journeys, (Euseb. h. e. VI. 16,) and he probably besides availed himself of the assistance of his Jewish teacher, Huilus.[3] Then followed Aquila as most closely allied to the Hebrew text; then Symmachus, the LXX., Theodotion; to these were appended in the case of particular books the Quinta, etc. The position of the LXX. betwixt Symmachus and Theodotion probably arose from the fact of Symmachus being more nearly allied to the Hebrew text, than the LXX.; so that the degree in which they differed from the original determined the order of their arrangement. The work of Theodotion followed the LXX. because it had a leaning to this translation; the rest were probably similar *correctoria* of the LXX.[4]

Origen could not venture to alter the text itself according to the other translations without offending his jealous contemporaries.[5] Certainly the text of the LXX. had for its basis that of very good codices; on which account Jerome calls it editio incorrupta et immaculata (s. Hody, p. 610, sq.); but besides this Origen availed himself of the critical signs used by the grammarians in revising the text of the classics. Among them Aristarchus is

1 The time cannot be accurately determined; see De Wette, Einl. s. 73.

2 Ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ λανθάνειν ἡμᾶς τὴν διαφορὰν τῶν παρὰ Ἰουδαίοις καὶ ἡμῖν ἀντιγράθων. Epist. ad Jul. African.

3 See Hody, l. cit. p. 289.

4 Otherwise Epiphanius, but certainly not correctly. Comp. Hody, p. 604.

5 Οὐ τολμήσαντες αὐτὰ πάντη περιελεῖν, etc., comm. in Matth. i. 1.

named as the first who made use of the *Obelos* in the songs of Homer.[1] The use of these signs was especially augmented by the Platonists, who by this means marked their observations on the text of Plato.[2] Origen followed the latter—a proceeding all the more likely on his part, when the history of his education is taken into account; but he so applied and modified these signs as best to subserve his purposes. In the case even of the grammarians, there was diversity in the use they made of them.[3] Origen employed the *Obelos* (Obeliscus) to denote what was in the LXX. and awanting in the Hebrew, which he ascertained by means of the more faithful translations (*κριτηρίῳ χρησάμενοι ταῖς λοιπαῖς ἐκδόσεσιν*), making in this case an especial use of Theodotion on account of his close alliance with the LXX. (quod majoris audaciae est in editione LXX., Theodotionis editionem miscuit. Hieron. praef. I. in Paralip. and other passages.) The Astericus[4] was employed to supply what was awanting according to the same method. Besides these the Hexapla contained lemnisci and hypolemnisci,—rare and more superfluous means of denoting other modes of rendering that harmonized with the meaning of the text or not.[5]

This was the arrangement of the work which by the ancients was named the Hexapla or Octapla, according to the various modes of numbering the columns. It has been questioned if Origen besides this work, wrote another, under the name of Tetrapla. The existence of an independent work by Origen called the Tetrapla ought certainly, on the one hand, never to have been doubted: this

1 S. Wolf, Prolegg., p. CCLII., sqq.

2 *Σημεῖα τινὰ τοῖς βιβλίοις παρατίθενται.* Diogen. Laert. III. 39. There were particular works *περὶ τῶν ἐν τοῖς βιβλίοις σημείων*, but they have been lost, so that we are confined to the extracts in Diog. Laert. and Isidor. Origg. I. 20. Comp. Casaubonus ad Diog. L. l. cit.

3 *Τὰ σημεῖα παρὰ τοῖς ποιηταῖς ἄλλοις ἄλλως κεῖται*, says the grammarian Hephästion.

4 Apponitur in iis locis, quae omissa sunt, ut illucescant (whence the name) per eam notam quae deesse videntur. Isidor. l. cit. Hence with the Platonists: *Ἀστερ. πρὸς τὴν συμφωνίαν τῶν δογμάτων*, Diog. L. l. cit.

5 Lemniscus apponitur iis locis, quae S. Scripturae interpretes eodum sensu, sed diversis sermonibus transtulerunt Hypol. (antigraphus)—ubi in translationibus diversus sensus habetur. Isidor l. cit. with which Epiphanius exactly agrees. Comp. Hody p. 140, sq. Also the use of the Lemnisci in the cod. Chis. of the LXX. (in Daniel) agrees with this, see the praef. of the Roman Edit. § V. Montfaucon (praelim. ad Hex. IV. 4), and others therefore incorrectly advocate another use of these signs. Probably the *ὀβελος περιεστιγμένος* of the Platonists (see Diog. Laert. l. cit,) was in Origen superseded by the lemniscus, as even Casaubonus supposes.

is sufficiently evident from Eusebius[1] and other witnesses.[2] On the other hand to have regarded the Tetrapla as a work altogether different in respect to internal construction, and design, was an error in the opposite direction, since, according to Eusebius, and all the other Fathers, it differed from the Hexapla only in the number of its columns and in its size. It is quite natural to suppose that Origen in the progress of his work at first issued a less comprehensive work, and enlarged it at a later period. This is confirmed by the well-known notices occurring in his life, of new discoveries which he made whilst engaged in his work.

Origen's work, the Hexapla, passed, after his death, into the library of Pamphilus at Cesarea. The latter, with the assistance of his friend Eusebius, published the text of the LXX. as presented in this work, and the codices so issued were received with decided favour, especially by the churches of Palestine.[3] And since they were furnished not merely with the critical signs of Origen, but also with the scholia and glosses of other translations, the foundation was laid for the introduction of a new corruption of the text.

The best edition of the Hexapla, according to the fragments preserved by Montfaucon II. voll. fol. is the edition by Bahrdt 2 voll. 8. For particulars regarding the Literature see in Rosenmüller's Handb. II. p. 459, etc. An individual attempt to restore the text of the Hexapla is the Jeremias by Spohn.

§ 74. HISTORY OF THE LXX. AFTER ORIGEN.

About the same time that Origen undertook the revision of the LXX., a similar need was felt in other churches; and, as it appears, quite independent of Origen,[4] a fresh revision of the LXX. was instituted in Antioch by the Presbyter Lucianus (died 312) who in this case made use of the Hebrew text and of the other translations,

1 Though one may read here ἐπισκευάσας or ἐπικατασκευάσας, still the ἰδίως, *seorsim* decides for us.

2 Quoted by Hody, p. 595, sq.

3 Mediae inter has provinciae Palestinos codices legunt quos ab Origine elaboratos Eusebius et Pamphilus vulgaverunt. Hieron. praef. I. ad Paralip.

4 For it does not appear that the critical signs of Origen were used by Lucian and Hesychius. The passage of Jerome, ep. 74, ad Augustinum, refers only to the copies of the Hexaplaric text, and testifies of its wide circulation.

but according to more credible accounts,[1] only of the first. Of the edition following this revision many copies were published, and were very favourably received in Syria and Asia Minor.[2] Accordingly they were called vulgata, or Lukianos,[3] and the so revised manuscripts Lucianea.[4]

In like manner Hesychius in Egypt prepared an edition of the LXX., which there gained general respect.[5] Meanwhile, from the circumstance of Jerome placing this edition on a par with those of Origen and Lucian, it may be concluded generally, that its design was also a better fixing of the Alexandrine text. The nature and mode of its execution is to us entirely unknown.

Three different editions of the text of the LXX. had thus been made in three large ecclesiastical districts: totus orbis, says Jerome, has inter se trifaria varietate compugnat. But none of the manuscripts issued in consequence remained uninfluenced by other editions, and as the various translations, even by what Origen had done, necessarily tended to the corruption of the text, this was only increased by the variety of these editions. Accordingly Jerome, who was all the more competent to express an opinion on the subject, because he knew the original Hexapla from having himself seen it, says: nunc vero quum pro varietate regionum diversa ferantur exemplaria et germana illa antiquaque translatio corrupta sit atque violata, etc.—The majority of the Christian Fathers were satisfied with the Hexaplaric text issued by Eusebius, without being concerned, as Jerome was, for the Original, from which alone the true meaning of the text could be determined. Only a few, such as Basil the Great, seem to have been anxious for more careful revisions of the codices.[6] The size of the large work of Origen prevented its being transcribed; of this there are nowhere any

1 The former is found *e.g.* in the synopsis in Athanasii opp. t. II; the latter in Suidas s. vocc. *Λουκίανος* and *νοθεία*, according to Simeon Metaphrasta.

2 Constantinopolis usque ad Antiochiam Luciani Martyris exemplaria probat. Hier. praef. I. in Paral., adv. Ruffin. II., 26.

3 Vulgatam—quae a plerisque nunc Lucianus dicitur. Hier. ep. 106, ad Sunniam et Fretelam. The Hexaplaric text was so named likewise, on account of its reception in Palestine: ut omnes bibliothecas impleverit et vulgata dicta sit. Praef. in Jes.

4 Lucianus, vir disertissimus—tantum in scripturarum studio laboravit, ut usque nunc quaedam exemplaria Scripturarum Lucianea nuncupentur. Hier. de vir. illustr. 77.

5 Alexandria et Aegyptus in LXX. suis Hesychium laudat auctorem. Praef. I. in Paralip.

6 Comp. Syncelli, Chronogr. p. 203.

traces, and it seems to have fallen a prey to the Mahommedan invasion of Palestine in the seventh century.

Our present manuscripts have proceeded from the text thus corrupted. In consequence of this, and because the diversified blending of texts necessarily resulted in a constant variation of the manuscripts, it has hitherto not been possible to classify the codices of the LXX. according to their various derivations.—Besides the number of codices compared before Holmes was too small to allow of a positive conclusion concerning their united character being come to. Even the deviations of the two most celebrated and ancient codices—the Vatican and the Alexandrine—have not yet by any means, so far as their relation to each other is concerned, been satisfactorily explained—a departure from or an approach to the Hexaplaric text being taken as the only criterion, though not applicable throughout. If with Holmes it is in this case, besides, proposed to distinguish between the Tetraplaric, Hexaplaric, Hesychianic, and Lucianic recensions, the scheme is absolutely impracticable, and must rest on arbitrary assumptions as to the nature of these recensions.[1]

The editions published up to the present time do not clearly exhibit the manuscript texts, but have, in part, been executed on very arbitrary principles. The first edition of the LXX., as published in the Complutensian Polyglott in the year 1516, is certainly unknown as regards the codices from which it has proceeded; but it has not, as some have conjectured, been altered from the Hebrew original. The readings are in part peculiar, varying from those of the Alexandrine and Vatican codices, and since it frequently receives confirmation from the Hexaplar Syriac [ὁ Σῦρος, TR.], the edition in question seems to have proceeded from one of the Hexaplaric recensions.[2]—This text afterwards passed into the Polyglotts of Antwerp and Paris.

The edition of Aldus Manutius (Aldina) of 1518 is taken from old manuscripts, but is thought to be interpolated. From it have issued the editions of Strasburg (1526), of Basle (1545), of Frankfort (1597), and other editions.

The Sixtine Edition, Rome 1587, has for its basis the Codex of

1 Comp. Amersfoordt, l. cit. p. 105, sqq.

2 Notwithstanding this, much respecting its origin still remains obscure; s. Spohn, Jerem. vat. 1, p. 43.

the Vatican, but has, where the manuscript is defective (as in the beginning of the Pentateuch as far as Genesis xlvii.), partly had these deficiencies supplied from other sources, and has partly been altered in other respects.—This text has been received into the London Polyglott, and is followed by the editions of London 1653 (with many alterations); of Amst. 1685; of Lips. 1697. The Roman edition is also followed by that of Lamb. Bos, Franeq. 1709, with various readings, and very convenient as a manual; so also the newest edition of L. van Ess, Lips. 1824.

Grabe followed the Alexandrine Codex[1] in preparing his splendidly printed edition, Oxford 1707; but he adopted alterations from codices and from conjecture. The more exact edition of Breitinger, Zurich 1730, ff., followed this.

A really critical edition, important because of the collation of many manuscripts, and the application of other aids in criticism, is the English edition begun by Holmes (1798), and completed by Parsons (1827). Comp. the diss. cited by Amersfoordt and Gesenius, loc. cit. No. 1.[2]

The Alexandrine translation of Daniel discovered in the Codex Chisianus in Rome, appeared at first in Rome in 1772, and was at a later period edited by J. D. Michaelis and Segaar.[3]

§ 75. DAUGHTER-VERSIONS OF THE LXX.

1. THE ITALA.

In the west a respect for the LXX. was universally prevalent, and the most influential Fathers regarded this as the only authentic translation of the original text;[4] so much was this the case that an adherence to this translation came to be regarded as a mark of orthodoxy.[5] Augustine, as is known, sought to defend even the

1 The fac simile of this was published in England by Mr. H. Baber, T. I., 1823. Comp. Gesenius, Hall. L. Z. 1832. No. 2, s. 11, ff.

2 Concerning the literature generally, comp. Rosenmüller, Handb. II., s. 279, ff.

3 Comp. *my* Commentary on the Book of Daniel, s. XLV., ff.

4 Comp. Tertullian de praescript. haeret. c. 36. Hilarius comment. in Pss. 2, 118, 5.

5 Comp. Philastrius, haer. catal. c. 93, 94: sunt haeretici, qui Theodotionis et Symmachi itidem interpretationem diverso modo expositam sequuntur, non illorum beatissimorum priorum, quam ecclesia catholica colit et praedicat.

inspiration of the authors of this translation.[1] The LXX. being used for religious purposes, Latin translations of it were at an early period found to be necessary,[2] and these followed the ground-text as closely as possible. Augustine mentions them frequently, and to all of them, he prefers the *Itala*,—so named by the Fathers of the African Church, because their knowledge concerning it, in so far as made use of in the Church, was derived from Italy.[3] According to Augustine this translation was marked by great literality and perspicuity; and it originated with the earliest times of Christianity.[4] It was made from the κοινή of the LXX., and hence by Jerome it is named: usitata, vulgata, communis (also vetus). In the Fathers it is extant only in a few fragments; but on account of the variations of their citations, it can no longer be exactly determined which translation really belongs to the Itala.[5] These may be further increased by a collation of the older juridical works, of which a beginning has been made by Münter.[6]

In the time of Jerome, these Latin translations had become still more corrupted and divergent than was the LXX. before Origen. Quum apud Latinos, says Jerome, praef. in Josuam, tot sint exemplaria quot codices, et unusquisque pro suo arbitrio vel addiderit vel subtraxerit, quod ei visum est, etc.[7] Jerome, whilst still at Rome (383), at first corrected the Psalter (Psalterium Romanum), but only cursorily (cursim); afterwards with more pains-taking, according to the Hexapla of Origen in Palestine, the Psalterium Gallicanum, which was introduced into the Gallican

1 Comp. Clausen, Augustinus, S. S. interpr., p. 71, sq.

2 For the fact that there existed several translations, see Jahn, Einl. I, s. 216, ff.

3 Comp. de doctr. Christ. II., 15, with c. Faust. IX., 2. Against the conjectures of *Illa* and *usitata* instead of *Itala*, see Hug. Einl. I. § 115.

4 See De Wette, Einl. s. 77.

5 The fragments are collected by P. Sabatier, bibl. sacr. latt. verss. antiq. etc. Remis. 1743. T. I.—III. Comp. Rosenmüller, Handb., b. s. 175, ff.

6 S. Miscellanea Hafniensia t. II., p. 89, sqq., besides which something further may be gleaned from more recent works,—especially from the Corpus juris Romani Antejustiniani. Edd. Bocking, Bethmann-Hollweg, Pugge. Fascic. I. Bonn. 1835, 4.—As far as *age* is concerned (Holmes praef. ad ed. LXX. c. 4.), the Sclavonian translation has also been made from the Itala—(but it was subsequently altered according to Greek manuscripts)—a view which seems best to harmonize with the (certainly confused) history of the conversions of the Sclavonians; s. Gieseler, K. G. II., 1, § 38.

7 An example of such a corruption is found in the codex Wirceburgensis, from which Münter, l. cit. p. 112, sq., has communicated portions of the Itala. He concludes, that it has originated in Africa, since it wants both the literalness and elegance so celebrated in the case of the Fathers.

Churches.[1] Of the other books of the Old Testament he besides published, also corrected in this way, Chronicles, Ecclesiastes, Song of Solomon, Proverbs, and Job, to each of which books, we, on this account, have two prefaces by Jerome.[2] This translation for the most part follows the Vatican text of the LXX. as this approaches nearest to the *κοινή*; on this account, and because of its literal style, it is highly serviceable as an aid in restoring the more ancient reading of the Alexandrine translation.[3]

§ 76. (2.)—SYRIAC VERSION FROM THE GREEK.

Until the sixth century, the version universally used by the Syrians for ecclesiastical purposes, was exclusively the Peschito, a translation from the Hebrew. Ephraem Syrus certainly makes frequent mention of a Greek version (ܩܘܠܣܐ), and many have from this concluded[4] that he had made use of a peculiar translation of the LXX. But Ephraem certainly was acquainted only with the Peschito.[5] As little may we assume what has been advanced as explanatory of the fact just noticed, that this Father had availed himself of the original LXX.; because he was unquestionably not acquainted with the Greek language.[6] The nature of those references rather leads us to believe that Ephraem had before him a text of the Peschito furnished with several glosses both from the Hebrew original and the Greek translations.[7]

The first circumstance which led to a translation from the Greek, was the formal separation which took place between the Monophysites and the Nestorians. The necessity for a new, independent, and at the same time, verbatim translation was only

1 S. Engelstoff, Hier. Stridon. etc., § 24.

2 Comp. Hody, l. cit. p. 352, sq. Jahn, I., s. 220, ff. De Wette, s. 79, 80.—Editions of the Psalt. Rom. and Gallic. s. in Rosenmüller loc. cit. p. 189, ff.

3 S. Gesenius, Comment. on Jes. I., s. 98.

4 According to the example of Assemani, bibl. Orient. III. 1, p. 76, cll. I., p. 71.

5 Comp. Wiseman, hor. Syr. I., p. 107, sq., von Lengerke comment. crit. de. Ephr. s. p. 29, sq.

6 S. Assem. I., p. 48, not., and the weighty reasons of von Lengerke, comment. crit. p. 4, sqq.

7 Comp. Credner, de prophet. min. vers. Syr. p. 48, sq., v. Lengerke, l. cit. p. 10, sq., Rödiger, in der Hall. Lit. Zt. 1832. Nr. 6, s. 43, ff.

then felt by the former.—Thus arose the Philoxenian translation of the New Testament made in the beginning of the sixth century.[1] Of the Old Testament a translation of the Psalms made at the instance of Philoxenus (Xenajas) is also cited. Moses of Aghel in Mesopotamia, an author of the middle of the sixth century, reports that the Bishop Polycarp had translated the Psalms and the New Testament from the Greek.[2]—Further, it is supposed that there is a translation of Isaiah by Philoxenus in the Codex Ambros. of the Syro-Hexaplaric translation. (Eichhorn Rep. 3, s. 175.) But since the important testimony of Moses of Aghel mentions only the translation of the Psalms, this probably is a part of Philoxenus' work: Commentarius in S. S.[3]

In the seventh century Thomas of Charkel (Heraclea) was engaged in a revision of the Philoxenian text of the New Testament, and contemporaneously with him, Paul of Tela[4] was making a translation of the Old Testament from the Hexaplaric text.[5] This translation was made according to an accurate text, as the postscripts in the codices shew;[6] and consequently is of material service as a means of restoring the Hexaplaric text. The friendly relations and particular bond of union at that time existing between the Monophysites and Alexandria,[7] were chiefly instrumental in bringing about such a translation from the text received from the Greeks. Hence not only was the *Recensio Harclensis* executed in Alexandria, but Paul of Tela also wrote his translation during his stay there, at the time of the Monophysite Patriarch Athanasius (in the year 617.)

1 S. Hug, Einl. I., § 70, 71.

2 Assemani, II., p. 83.—The Psalms were translated first, because they were chiefly devoted to liturgical purposes; comp. *e.g.* the Rituale Syr. in Knoes, chr. Syr. p. 55, sq. Hence there was a translation of them also by Abbot Simeon, if the statement of Assemani, II., p. 83, (comp. with this I., p. 612) be correct, which according to the latter passage would seem doubtful.

3 ܡܦܫܩܢܐ ܕܙܡܝܪ̈ܐ ܕܕܘܝܕ, Assem. I., p. 23. The ܦܫܩܢܐ signifies *Commentary* as well as *Translation*, see Wiseman, hor., p. 156, not.

4 Concerning the locality, see Döpke, ad Michaelis, chr. Syr., p. 143.

5 See the Locus classicus of Barhebraeus, in prooem. ad horreum mysteriorum in Wiseman, p. 87, 88, and Bernstein, chr. Syr. I., p. 145, (the former according to the cod. Vatic., the latter according to the cod. Bodleianus.)

6 Comp. Bruns, in the Repertor. III., s. 186, VIII.,s . 96.

7 S. Renaudot, histor. patriarch. Jacobit., p. 152.

Thus according to the Postscript of the Parisian codex. S. Eichhorn, in the Repert. VII., s. 226, Bruns, Rep. VIII., s. 86.

The work of Paul embraced the whole of the Old Testament, including the Apocrypha, as the manuscript memorials of it (see below) shew. There was not a *Recensio Harclensis* or even a translation of the Old Testament by Thomas of Charkel. This is apparent from the passage of Barhebraeus already noticed, who nowhere cites the Harcleian recension in the case of the Old Testament.[1] The Apocryphal books seem, however, to have been executed by Thomas. Pococke found in some MSS. a Syrian translation of the history of Susannah, marked with ܠܣܘܟܠ ܕܗܪܩܠ, versio Heracleensis,[2] and this has been edited by Walton in the London Polyglott (vol. iv.) From this it has become apparent that this was a free repetition of the version of Theodotion, a similar work having existed probably at a somewhat earlier period, which also has been inserted in the London Polyglott.[3] The object of this work was to remove the difficulties of the history, and by a more pleasing representation of facts, to render it more intelligible and credible; on which account it is very properly called a *translation*, (ܦܣܩܐ), not a *recension* (ܬܫܥܝܬܐ), as the New Testament is.[4] That this work proceeded from Thomas is all the more probable when the free style of his execution, as it appears in the New Testament, is compared,[5] and when it is considered how, besides this, the style of his work, as respects the choice of the critical signs of Origen, was related to that of Paul;[6] whence it might easily occur to him to revise anew the Apocrypha as existing among the Greeks in various forms.

With this Syro-Hexaplaric translation is identical the one mentioned by Barhebraeus or Abulphradsch in the Histor. dynast. p. 100, ed. Pococke, which some—overlooking the correct reading, already noticed by Pococke in the Addenda,[7]—have incorrectly

[1] Harclensis,—nullibi prorsus in Veteri T. a Barhebreao citatur. Wiseman, p. 204, not. comp. Rhode, Gregor. Barhebr. in Ps. V. et XVIII. p. 19. For this speaks also the Cod. Vatic. Nr. 153 (in Assemani, II. p. 499), containing the Karkaph edition, in which the Old Testament is furnished with glosses from the LXX., the New Testament from the Harcleian edition. Wiseman, p. 178.

[2] Comp. Pok. praef. in Joel. fol. 6.

[3] S. Eichhorn, Einl. in die Apokryph. s. 478, ff.

[4] Comp. Adler, verss. Syr. p. 63, sq.

[5] See concerning this the important communications in Wiseman, p. 178, sq. Also comp. Hug, Einl. I. § 75.

[6] Comp. Adler, l. cit. p. 50, 51.

[7] The passage occurs also in Pokocke Spec. Hist. Ar. p. 184, and here, as also in the new edition by White, it follows the incorrect reading. The reading confirmed by

taken for some particular translation named *Figurata*. The passage speaks of two translations as used by the western Syrians, —the Peschito, as the earlier production, and a later work which proceeded from the LXX. With this passage we may very properly combine the testimony of the Monophysite Moses Bar Cepha of the tenth century, who, in like manner, speaks of these two translations only: "Syriace vero redditum altera quidem interpretatione ex ipso Hebraeo, altera vero ex Graeco" (in Assemani II. p. 130.)

Since, as we have above shewn, there existed among the Monophysites, already in the beginning of the sixth century, a portion of the Old Testament (the Psalms) translated into Syriac, this circumstance seems so to have influenced the Nestorians, that they also thought of a translation from the Greek. Such a translation is said to have been prepared by the Patriarch Mar Abba[1] (died 552.) But this translation seems never to have acquired the sanction of the Church, partly because the Peschito was too highly esteemed by the Nestorians,[2] and partly because Mar Abba himself—who is supposed, at an earlier period, to have been a Magian[3]—was personally obnoxious to the Syrians, and his orthodoxy doubtful.[4]

In the beginning of the eighth century lived Jacob of Edessa, an eminent expounder of Scripture among the Syrians. It has been incorrectly supposed[5] that he was the author of some particular translation of the Old Testament. From the fragments that have been communicated to us by de Sacy (Eichhorn, Allg. Bibl. viii., s. 571, ff.), and Bugati in his edition of the Syrohexaplaric version of Daniel (see Eichh. Allg. Bibl. ii., s. 270, ff.), and which are known from the Scholia of Barhebraeus, it appears that his work consisted of a new edition prepared from the Syrohexaplaric text

manuscripts as the correct one is found in Abraham Ecchellensis Ebedjesu catalogus, etc. (Rom. 1653), p. 240. It is defended by Renaudot, perpétuité de la foi, etc. t. V. p. 554, de Sacy (in Eichhorn's Allg. Bibl. VIII. s. 588); comp. Jahn, Vorr. z. Einl. II. s. VI. ff. Wiseman, l. cit. p. 93. Gesenius, hall. Lit. Z. 1832. Nr. 1, s. 8.

1 Thus Barhebraeus in Assemani III., 1, p. 75, and Ebedjesu, ibid.

2 Comp. Wiseman, p. 107, sq.

3 Comp. Frähn, z. Ibn. Fozlan, s. 136, ff.

4 Comp. the narrations concerning him in Assemani II., p. 411. This translation is in no way identical with the Philoxenianic, as Bruns, Rep. VIII., s. 93, would have it; both respectively belong to parties entirely different from, and quite opposed to each other.

5 So Assemani, I., p. 493.

and the Peschito conjointly.[1] Being a Monophysite,[2] his object seems to have been to furnish the religious party to which he belonged with a purer and more intelligible text of the Hexaplaric translation received by them.

In the year 1486, Hareth Ben Senan prepared an Arabic translation from the Hexaplaric version, of which there are extant two manuscripts in the Bodleian Library, and one in the Medicean. The critical signs of Origen are retained in it. Very little of it has hitherto been printed.[3]

The following is known concerning manuscripts of the Syro-hexaplaric translation: (*a*) The manuscript which Masius possessed; containing a part of Deuteronomy, Joshua, Judges, Ruth, the Books of Kings, Chronicles, Ezra, Esther, Judith, and a portion of Tobit. This codex has, however, since disappeared, and we have remaining only the (Latin) extracts of Masius in his commentary on the book of Joshua. (*b*) The codex Ambrosianus in Milan[4] contains the Psalms, Job, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Song of Solomon, Wisdom of Solomon, Sirach, the twelve minor prophets, Jeremiah, Baruch, Lamentations, Daniel, with the Apocryphal additions, Ezekiel, Isaiah. From it, Jeremiah and Ezekiel have been edited by Norberg (Londini Gothorum, 1787, 4), but scantily furnished and not without mistakes;[5] Daniel by Bugati (Mediolani, 1788, 4), correct, and furnished with learned annotations; Job (Curae Hexaplares in Jobum—scripsit H. Middeldorpf. Vratislav., 1817, 4); Psalms (by Bugati, Mediolani, 1820, comp. besides Plüschke, de Psalterii Syriaci Mediolanensis—peculiari indole ejusdemque usu critico. Bonnae, 1835, 8.) (*c*) The codex Paris., which contains only the fourth book of Kings, whence communications were made by Bruns (comp. Rep. IX., s. 157, ff., X., s. 58, ff.); comp. Hasse, libri IV. regum Syro-Hexaplaris. spec. e Ms. Paris. Syr. ed. etc. Jenae, 1782, 8. The work of Middeldorpf, codex

1 Comp. von Lengerke, comment. crit. de Eph. s. p. 19, sq., not. Rhode, l. cit. p. 70, 76. Comp. also Eichhorn, Einl. II., s. 159, ff.

2 See concerning this Assemani, II., p. 337.

3 Comp. Hottinger, Thes. philol. p. 247, sq. Paulus, Comment crit. exhibens e bibl. Oxon. Bodlej. specimina verss. Pentat. septem Arabb. p. 70, sq. Eichhorn, Einl. II., s. 293, ff. Schnurrer in Holmes, praef. ad. LXX. ed. I., c. 4.

4 See concerning this, Adler, Uebers. einer bibl. Krit. Reise, etc., s. 194, ff.

5 Comp. Bugati, in den annal. litter. Helmstad. 1787, I., p. 289, sq., and Daniel secundum LXX. interpr. etc., p. 164, sq.

Syriaco-Hexaplaris lib. IV. Regg. e cod. Paris., Jes., XII. proph. min., Provv., Job., Cant., Threni, Eccles. e cod. Mediolan. ed. et comm. illustr. Midd. Tom. I. Berol., 1835, 4, has appeared but very recently.—(I have not as yet been able to examine this important work minutely.)—Of importance in connection with this subject are the Scholia of Barhebraeus to the Old Testament, in which he frequently quotes the Syro-Hexaplaric translation. Comp. for the Literature of this subject Rhode, l. cit., p. 6, et p. 16, sq.

§ 77. (3.)—OTHER VERSIONS DERIVED FROM THE LXX.

(1.) *The Ethiopic translation.* Along with the spread of Christianity among the Ethiopians in the fourth century,[1] the translation of the Bible seems also to have been extended to them. The oldest testimony on the subject is given by Chrysostom, who says, that the Ethiopians, besides the Syrians, Egyptians, Indians, Persians, and many other nations, were in possession of the Scriptures translated into their respective languages (hom. II. in Johann.) De auctore et tempore versionis nihil certi compertum habemus—says Ludolf;[2]—probabile tamen est, eam tempore conversionis Habessinorum vel paullo post, non vero tempore Apostolorum, ut quidam tradiderunt, concinnatam fuisse et quidem a diversis interpretibus; quia vocabula rariora et difficiliora, ut sunt gemmarum nomina, non uno modo in diversis libris exponuntur. This translation is written in the old sacred Geez-language, and though the production of Christians, is likewise used by the Ethiopian Jews (Fellaschas). It unquestionably follows the Alexandrine translation, as Ludolf has supposed; and neither the supposition of its having been framed according to some Arabic original, nor that of its having been made with the aid of the Hebrew original, is sufficiently proved.[3] The Ethiopian Canon thus embraces not only the Apocryphal books, but also a number of pseudepigraphical records, of which, up to this period, the fourth book of Ezra,[4] the

1 S. Giesceler, KG. I., s. 561.

2 Hist. Aethiop. III., c. 4, § 5. Comp. comment. in histor. Aeth. III., 4, p. 295, sq.

3 Comp. Gesenius, hall. Lit. z. 1832 No. 2, s. 9. Roediger, ibid. No. 8, s. 58, ff.

4 Edited by Laurence, Oxon. 1820. See concerning this Lücke, Einl. in die Offenb. Joh. s. 78, ff.

book of Enoch,[1] and the ἀναβάτικον Ἡσαΐου,[2] have become known, —a kind of literature for which this Church entertained a great predilection, which still prevails.

The Ethiopic translation is extant in Europe in its entireness, in manuscript form;[3] only detached portions have been printed,— most frequently the Psalter (with the Song of Solomon, ed. J. Potken., Rom., 1513, 4; in the London Polygl.; by H. Ludolf. Francof. ad. M. 1701, 4; by itself: London, 1815, 8, (at the expense of the Bible Society); comp. Dorn de Psalterio Aethiopico. Lips., 1825, 4. The Song of Solomon alone, edited by Nissel, Lugd. Bat. 1656, Ruth, by the same, 1660; Jonah, by Theod. Petraeus, Lugd. B. 1660; the first four chapters of Genesis, by G. Chr. Bürklin. Francof. ad M. 1696; Joel, by Petraeus, Ludg. B. 1661; Malachi, by the same, 1661. Comp. also Rosenmüller, Handb. 3, s. 65, ff.

(2) *The Egyptian translations.* Since the spread of Christianity[4] in the interior provinces of Egypt, about the close of the third, and beginning of the fourth centuries (especially since the Decian persecution), and after the introduction of Monachism, the subject of translations into the Egyptian dialects seems to have claimed attention. These translations recognize the LXX. as their original, and of that, as it appears, the Hesychianic recension, which at that time was in circulation in Egypt.[5] We know of a translation written in the dialect of Lower Egypt, the Memphitic or Coptic, of which are printed, the Pentateuch (ed. Dav. Wilmins, London, 1731), the Psalms, Rom., 1744 and 1749, a small portion of Jeremiah (ed. Mingarelli, Bologna, 1785), and of Daniel in Münter's Specim. Concerning manuscripts of this translation, see Zoëga, catalogus codd. Copt. in Museo Borgiano., Rom., 1810, p. 1, sq. The Book of Psalms pertaining to this translation, is cited by Barhebraeus also; and that it was known to the Syrians

[1] Edited by Laurence, Oxon. 1821. Comp. the particulars in Lücke, loc. cit. p. 52, ff. Translated, and with notes, by Hoffmann, Jena. 1833. 1st section.

[2] Edited by Laurence, Oxon. et Lond. 1819. Comp. Gesenius, z. Jes. I. s. 45, ff. Nitzsch, Stud. und Krit. 1830, II., s. 209, ff., Lücke, s. 125, ff.

[3] See the catalogue of the manuscripts in Ludolph, Comment. p. 298. Comp. Thom. Pell Platt, catalogue of the Ethiopical biblical manuscripts in the royal library of Paris and the library of the British and Foreign Bible Society — — and of those in the Vatican library at Rome.—London, 1823, 4.

[4] Comp. Dionys. Alexandr. in Euseb. hist. eccl. VI. 42.

[5] Comp, Münter, spec. verss. Danielis coptic. Rom., 1786, p. 13, sqq.

is evident from the cod. pentaglottus Barberinus, Nr. 104.[1] There is extant besides, a translation of the Old Testament in the dialect of Upper Egypt or Sahidic, (see concerning the manuscripts of this, Engelbreth in N. theol. Journal von Ammon, etc., VI., s. 834, ff. Zoëga, l. cit, p. 172, sq. 621), of which however only fragments (in Münter, Mingarelli. and Zoëga), have been printed.—There is also a translation of the Old Testament in the Basmuric dialect, which is a mixture of the two dialects mentioned, having, however, a greater approximation to the Sahidic (see Zoëga, l. cit., p. 140, sq.) See on this subject, Zoëga, l. cit., and Engelbreth fragm. Basmurico-Copt. V. et N. T. Hafn., 1811.

(3.) *The Armenian translation.* Christianity had come to the Armenians already in the second century,—had spread more generally in the time of Constantine,—and in the fifth century, Miesrob gave them an alphabet and a translation of the Bible.[2] This translation has proceeded from the LXX., and seems to have followed a mixed text of this version.[3] From a passage of Barhebraeus (schol. ad Ps. xvi. 2), it has been supposed that this translation had received emendations from the Peschito; but the passage of Barhebraeus represents this as merely a conjecture, and the thing itself is still doubtful.[4] It is more probable that at the time of Barhebraeus there was extant a Syrian translation made according to the Armenian.[5] It is moreover uncertain whether this translation received interpolations from the Vulgate in the thirteenth century.[6] Concerning the editions of this translation, see Rosenmüller, Handb. 3, s. 78, ff. Le Long, bibl. H. II., p. 178, sq. ed Masch.

(4.) *The Georgian translation* has, like the Armenian, proceeded from the LXX.; but has been altered according to the Sclavonian.[7] It originated in the sixth century.

[1] S. Wiseman, hor. Syr., p. 144, 145.

[2] S. Moses Chorenensis, hist. Armen, ed. Whiston. c. 54, and c. 61.

[3] Comp. La Croze, thes. epist. p. 201. Bredenkamp in Eichhorn, allg. Bibl. IV., s. 632, ff. Whiston, praef. ad Mos. Chor. p. XII., sq.

[4] Comp. Wiseman, l. cit. p. 142, who gives the passage of Barhebraeus, which, until then, was known only partially (s. Walton, prolegg. c. 13, § 16), in its connection.

[5] S. Wiseman, p. 143. Rhode, l. cit., p. 74, sq.

[6] S. Alter, philol. kritische Miscellen, s. 140, ff., and in Holmes, praef. ad edit. LXX. c. 4.

[7] Comp. Alter über, georgianische Literatur. Wien, 1795. Eichhorn's allg. Bibl. Th. I., s. 153, ff.

(5.) *Several Arabic translations.* To this class belongs especially the translation of the Prophets, Psalms, and writings of Solomon, as extant in the Polyglotts of Paris and London, written by an Alexandrian cleric sometime since the tenth century. It has proceeded from a Hexaplaric Codex, and in some cases deviates from the LXX., conforming itself more to the reading of some other translation more consonant with the Hebrew.[1] The translation of the Book of Ezra has likewise been made from the Greek.[2] To these Arabic translations belongs also the Psalter edited at Rome 1614 (by Gabr. Lionita and Victor. Scialac), which has proceeded from the Alexandrine translation, but has here and there received corrections from the Peschito and Vulgate.[3] The Psalters (repeatedly printed,—latterly in London 1725, in Vienna 1792), belonging to the Melchites or orthodox section of oriental Christians, have also come from this source,[4] as also several other Arabic translations, not printed.[5]

§ 78. THE VERSIO VENETA.

More a literary and historical curiosity than really useful exegetically, is the Greek translation of several books of the Old Testament in the library of St Mark in Venice (Cod. No. 7). Its characteristic peculiarities are as follows: It adheres with still greater fidelity than the work of Aquila to the letter of the original; the exegesis of words closely follows Rabbinical tradition; it has

1 Concerning several portions of it in Isaiah, comp. Gesenius, Comment. I., s. 98, ff.; in Jeremiah, Spohn, Jeremias vates etc. I., p. 21, sq.; in Daniel, Wald im Repert. XIV., s. 204, ff. Lengerke's opinion that the original text had also been consulted (das B. Daniel, s. CXV.) seems to me to be incorrect: some cases are explained by supposing the use of an Hexaplaric text, others by supposing that the translator has given an Arabic meaning to the Hebrew word retained in the Greek. It is remarkable that Abu Said also renders *Shinar* by *Irak* (Gen. x. 10), the same as the Arabic in Dan. i. 2, which seems to me to indicate, if not that the translators mutually aided each other, yet that both translations were executed contemporaneously, since it was customary to use Irak for Babylon.

2 S. Rödiger, de origine et indole Arab. librorum V. Ti. histor. interpretationis (Hal 1829), p. 35.

3 S. Rödiger, hall. Lit. Z. 1832, Nr. 8, s. 61.

4 S. Döderlein, im Repert. II., s. 176, ff. Th. IV., s. 87, ff. Rosenmüller, Handb. Th. 3, s. 49, ff.

5 S. Adler, bibl. krit. Reise, s. 68, und 179. Paulus, spec. verss. Pentateuchi septem Arabb., p. 58, sq.

very few deviations from our *textus receptus*, and most of these betoken want of knowledge on the part of the author; the style is a strange medley of attempts at Attic elegance and barbarisms; the Chaldaic portion of the book of Daniel is written in the Doric dialect; the author seems on the whole to have been disposed to make a display of his proficiency in the Greek language. This latter circumstance would fix the date of the work as being sometime after the ninth century, when the study of the Greek language, and a certain scientific life, began to revive in Greece.[1] It is hardly possible to determine the date more precisely, since all notices of a more definite kind are wanting, and the various hypotheses[2] professing to be more precise are not supported by sufficient evidence. There is the same uncertainty as to whether the author was a Jew or a Christian. But, indications of a certain degree of acquaintance with the Aramæan, the Rabbinical mode of handling the matter, and especially the fact of the work being divided into *Parashes*, are circumstances which decidedly argue a Jewish authorship; and Byzantium is considered as most probably the place of its origin.[3]

The style of character used in the MS. would indicate that it was written in the fourteenth century, but it seemingly is a transcript of some older original, and contains some things decidedly not authentic.[4] The Pentateuch is edited by Ammon (III. voll. Erlang. 1790, 1791), and Proverbs, Koheleth, Song of Solomon, Ruth, Lamentations, Daniel, and portions of the Pentateuch by Villoison (Argentor. 1784.) Comp. Eichhorn's Allg. Bibl. 3, s. 371, ff., 5, s. 743, ff.; Dahler, animadverss. in vers. gr. Provv. etc. Argentor. 1786. Pfannkuche, in Eichh. Bibl. 7, s. 193, ff.

1 Comp. Heeren, Gesh. der klass Litter. im Mittelalter (histor. Werke Th. IV.) 1, s. 138, ff.

2 See these in Bertholdt, Einl. II., s. 566, ff.

3 So among others, Gesenius, Gesch. d. Hebr. Spr., s. 103.

4 "I presume, however, it will not be easy to find a copy of this translation, because it seems to be only a private translation of some one." Spohn, der Prediger Salomo übers. etc., s. xxix.

2. ORIENTAL VERSIONS.

§ 79. TARGUMIM. THEIR ORIGIN.

Already in the time of Ezra the law was publicly read to the people, accompanied by a translation into Chaldee (Nehem. viii. 8.) This ecclesiastical usage, rendered necessary by the change of language consequent on the captivity, was undoubtedly continued in after times. It rose in importance especially when the Synagogues and public schools began to flourish, the chief subject of occupation in which was, the exposition of the Thorah. The office of interpreter[1] thus became one of the most important, and the Canon of the Talmud, that as the Law was given by a Mediator, so it can be read and expounded only by a Mediator, became paramount.[2] The Talmud contains, even in its oldest portions, precise injunctions concerning the manner of conducting these expository prelections—the style of reading—the portions to be read and expounded at the same time, &c. "By an interpreter generally appointed for the purpose, the text read was translated to the congregation extempore, into Aramæan, in verses or paragraphs, so that the reader and interpreter discoursed by turns."[3] It was at first the prevailing practice to expatiate freely, and a considerable license in exposition seems to have been allowed the interpreter.[4]

At a later period the abuse so apt to grow out of such a practice seems to have become perceptible.[5] The fixed hermeneutical rules which regulated the exposition of the Law became also by degrees more firmly established, and served to limit this license.[6] In this way the worth of written expositions came to be appreciated. This

1 מתורגמן, תרגמן, אמורא, less frequently: דרשן, comp. Zunz, die gottesdienstl. Vortr. d. Juden, s. 332.

2 Megillah Hieros. fol. 74.

3 Comp. Zunz, lib. cit. p. 8; also s. Schoettgen, hor. I. p. 99, sq.

4 Comp. Zunz, loc. cit. p. 74. Lightfoot, hor. ad. Matth. iv. 23: Targumista vel interpres—licentia aliquando usus est exspatiandi in paraphrasin: exempla huius rei occurrunt Hier. Bicurim f. 65, 4. Sanhedr. f. 20, 3. Bab. Beracoth f. 28, 1, alibiq. Comp. Ibid. in Luke iv. 16.

5 Comp. tr. Sotah p. 818, ed. Wagenseil.

6 Comp. Kidduschin fol. 49. Buxtorf, lex. Chald. Rabb. Talm. p. 2643. Lightfoot, hor. ad 1 Cor. xiv. 2.

we find corroborated by the aphorism of the Talmud: "Without a Targum we should be unable to understand this or that passage."[1]

Superadded to this, was an impulse from without. The hellenistic Jews had for a long time been in possession of the Law translated into their language, and in the second century, not only had the Syrians been prompted to translate the Holy Scriptures, but even the Jews themselves issued Greek versions in opposition to the Alexandrine version, and these were received with decided approbation even by the Talmudists, as the repeated and honourable mention of Aquilla in the Talmud proves.[2] It would therefore have appeared singular, had not the Jews familiar with the Aramæan dialect also followed the practice at that time universally prevalent, and sought to profit by it.

We have, in point of fact, certain traces of written Targums as extant at least in the time of Christ. For even the Mishna seems to imply this, tr. Jadaim 4, § 5, where the subject treated is the language and style of character to be used in writing the Targums. Further, the Gemarah (Schabbath f. 115, 1,) mentions a written Targum on Job of the middle of the first century (in the time of Gamaliel), which incurred the disapprobation of Gamaliel.[3] Zunz here very justly remarks: "Since it is not likely that a beginning should have been made with Job, a still higher antiquity, as very probably belonging to the first renderings of the Law, may be assumed (lib. cit. p. 62.)

It may indeed be questioned whether what is here said of the reception given by the Jews to those first attempts be just. For certainly "the Targum, like the Halachah, belonged to the things which were not to appear in written form;[4] however, this rule was not strictly observed; and precautionary means of this sort were used only lest anything of this kind put upon record should thereby attain to canonical authority. Perhaps interpretations not officially conducted inspired those skilled in law at least with a dread of Targums." (Zunz, loc. cit.) But the very circumstance of the Halachah being in the Talmud regarded as a subject which

1 Comp. Hottinger, thes. philol. p. 256.

2 Comp. Lightfoot, hor. ad acta ap., append. cap. IX. Zunz, loc. cit. p. 82, s. also Hieronymus, ad Jes. c. 8.—The LXX., on the contrary, is nowhere cited, and even regarded with disapprobation. See Lightfoot, l, cit. c. VII. sq.

3 Comp. Lightfoot, l, cit. cap. VI.

4 Comp. the passages in Eisenmenger, endt. Jud. I., s. 208, ff.

ought not to assume a written form, justifies the supposition that, before the introduction of this rigour an exception had already been established, which could not at a later period be reversed. It is at all events impertinent on this ground to deny with Eichhorn[1] the rise of Targums in the first century after Christ, and to regard them, consequently, as contemporary with the Talmud. If the earlier origin of the Targums is not conceded, we are shut up to the conclusion that they were written at a period subsequent to that of the origin of the Talmud,[2]—which certainly has this truth for it, that the Targums, during the time peculiar to the rise of the Talmud, neither enjoyed a firm legal standing, nor proved effectual in entirely superseding the practice of free prelections.

A chief objection[3] advanced against so early an origin of the Targums is the silence of the Christian Fathers, of whom none—not even those of whom it might have been confidently expected, such as Epiphanius and Jerome—mention the subject. But this objection has been repeatedly met by the just remark,[4] that this silence on the part of the Fathers is sufficiently explained by the circumstance of their not knowing the Chaldee language, and the small importance they attached to these paraphrases as compared with the Greek translations. If along with this we take into consideration the manner in which, for instance, Epiphanius expresses himself about the Talmud,[5] it will be all the less surprising, particularly since the Jews themselves did not very highly prize the Targums. But, in truth, the assertion in question is not even supported by the real facts of the case; for although the Targums are not made use of in the Peschito, they were, nevertheless, as it appears known to Ephraem Syrus.[6]

1 Einl. II., s. 15. ff. after the example of Morinus, exercitatt. bibl. p. 321, sq.

2 Thus Luzzato, in his Philoxenus, s. de Onkelosi paraphr. Chald. (Vienn. 1830.) Comp. hall. LZ. 1832, Nr. 3. s. 23.

3 Several other objections of less importance are satisfactorily met by Gesenius, Comment. z. Jes. I, s. 66, ff. Winer de Onkeloso, p. 10, sq.

4 Comp. *e.g.* Jahn, Einl. I. s. 190, ff.

5 S. Jost, Gesch. d. Israel IV. s. 274, ff.

6 Comp. the collocations in v. Lengerke de Ephraemi S. arte hermeneut. p. 14, sqq., with the express citation of the Targums in Jacob of Edessa, Assemani, bibl. Or. I. p. 66, from which passage Eichhorn II. s. 228, ff., incorrectly infers the existence of a Syrian Targum. The acquaintance of the Syrians with Jewish writings appears likewise from the citations of these occurring in Barhebraeus, s. Bernstein, chr. Syr. p. 186, 7.

§ 80. THE TARGUMS OF ONKELOS ON THE PENTATEUCH, AND OF JONATHAN ON THE PROPHETS.

These two translations are mentioned to us as the earliest. Among the eighty distinguished disciples of Hillel, *Jonathan the son of Uzziel*,[1] was, according to the Talmud, the chief; he must therefore have flourished shortly before the birth of Christ. He received his translation from the lips of the prophets Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi, amid wonderful events[2]—a representation which seemingly was meant, not only to attest the high claims of the translation, but also to indicate that it was regarded as the first publication of this kind. Somewhat later flourished *Onkelos*—the disciple and friend of Gamaliel—who honoured this, his preceptor, with a costly funeral,[3] and who received his Targum from the lips of R. Eliezer and R. Joshua.[4] The later Talmudists frequently confound him with the Greek translator, Aquila,[5] which only proves his high antiquity.

Both translations are frequently cited in the Talmud, and hence, it appears, were presumed to be known.[6] The works themselves also contain indications of each other's existence, as exact coincidences in the case of several passages show.[7] But this circumstance does not seem to demand to be explained, as if Jonathan had availed himself of Onkelos,[8] but admits also of the opposite conclusion, that Onkelos had made use of Jonathan. For, in the first place, the tradition of the Talmud concerning the prior existence of Jonathan cannot be given up except for cogent reasons;—and then, it is in itself probable that an attempt to interpret the prophets would be made before undertaking what was attended with more risk—a translation of the Law. Moreover, that a tendency favourable to translations of the Old Testament

1 Baba bathra, f. 134, 1. Succah, f. 28, 1. Jost, loc. cit. III. p. 114.

2 Megillah, f. 3, 1. Buxtorf, lex. p. 2644. Wolf, bibl. Hebr. II. p. 1159.

3 Comp. Avodah sarah, p. 81, ed. Edzardi. Josh, s. 173, ff.

4 Megillah, f. 3, 1. Maimonides Moreh Neb. II. p. 229: Buxt. See concerning both Othonis histor. doct. Misnic., p. 118, sq.

5 Comp. Winer de Onkeloso, p. 7, sq. Jost, s. 258, and Anh., s. 187.

6 Comp. Zunz, loc. cit., p. 63.

7 Comp. Targ. Deut. xxii. 5, with Judd. v. 26; Deut. xxiv. 16, with 2 Regg. xiv. 6; Num. xxi. 28, 29, with Jerem. xliv. 45, 46.

8 As Zunz thinks, loc. cit., p. 63.

prevailed in the time of Gamaliel is of itself quite in keeping with the more liberal character of this man as known otherwise, as also with the notice concerning the translation of the book of Job occurring in the preceding section.

The translation of Onkelos is, on the one hand, very simple and exact. It is obvious, from the character of the work, that the author was in possession of a rich exegetical tradition; hence we never find him omitting any passages of the original:[1] his elucidations of difficult and obscure passages and expressions are commonly those most accredited by internal evidence, and in this particular he is worthy of a more careful regard and assent than has usually fallen to his lot;[2] he even sometimes retains the Hebrew word where a corresponding term has not occurred to him. But, on the other hand, he frequently elucidates the sense and expression so as to suit his own purposes; still he does this sparingly, and only so far as it seemed to him necessary for the sake of intelligibility,[3] without indulging in heterogeneous additions. We find in his case only one instance of Cabbalistic interpretation.[4] Certainly, the influence of doctrinal questions peculiar to the times is apparent also in his case; but not to insist on the supposition that the text was at a later period interpolated with some such things—still interpretations savouring of Rabbinism but rarely occur,[5] and doctrinal representations are still characterized by great simplicity without the colouring of a later Jewish development,—such as the doing away with anthropomorphism with respect to the divine Being—the idea of the constant working of God by instrumentality.[6] He expounds only two passages concerning the Messiah (Gen. xlix. 10; Num. xxiv. 17.)[7]

1 S. Winer, l. cit. p. 35, not.

2 As Winer, p. 27. sq., also has too often declared himself against him; particularly since he does not sufficiently weigh the full meaning of such passages, as occurring in Onkelos' work.

3 Hence this chiefly occurs in the predictions Gen. xlix.; Num. xxiv.; Deut. xxxii. 33. Winer, p. 36, sq. Hall. Lit. Z. 1832. Nr. 3, s. 34, ff.

4 Application of the Gematria, Num. xii. 1. S. Hartmann, die enge Verbind. des A. u N. T. s., 689.

5 Comp. Gen. iii. 21, 22, iv. 10, xii. 5, Exod.; xx. 5; Levit. xxiii. 11; Deut. vi. 8 et al.

6 Hence the מימראיה׳, שכינתאדי׳, יקראדי׳, מלאכאדי׳. That the last expression occurs but once, Exod. iv. 24, proves the simplicity of this idea derived from the Old Testament.

7 Comp. with this the later Targums, which take up 17 passages on this subject, in Buxtorf, lex. p. 1268, sq.

With this character of interpretation the language of Onkelos is in harmony: it greatly approaches to the biblical Chaldee, *i.e.* it has still much of Hebrew colouring, though in a less degree than the other. It also avoids many Aramaisms (such as the contraction of nouns), which at a later period became prevalent, and as yet comprises a comparatively small number of Greek words, and of Latin words none whatever.[1] There are besides some obscure expressions which partly were unintelligible to the Talmudists.[2]

In the text of Onkelos there is still much room for correction, especially by means of consulting good manuscripts.[3] The principal editions are in the Complutensian Polyglott—more correctly in the Editio Veneta (of the Bomberg Bible of the year 1526), with improved punctuation in Buxtorf's Rabbin. Bible, and after this in the Polyglotts of Paris and London.[4] Translations by Fagius, Argent. 1556.

The Targum of Jonathan is of a somewhat different nature. "The prophetical writings," justly remarks Zunz, s. 63, "not containing anything of the nature of legal enactment, admitted of a greater latitude in handling the text; this became even unavoidable because of the more obscure language, and the predictions concerning Israel's future, by which they are characterized. Even in the case of the historical books Jonathan often acts the part of an expositor; in the case of the prophets themselves this course of exposition—in reality becoming a Hagadah—is pursued almost uninterruptedly." This pervading, often misunderstood characteristic, constitutes the chief proof, confirmed also by external evidence of the *oneness* of the authorship of this Targum. For, not only do parallel passages (such as Isaiah xxxvi.—xxxix.; comp. 2 Kings xviii. 13, ff.; Isaiah ii. 2—4; Micah v. 1—3) literally harmonize, but he is also in the habit of furnishing, particularly the poetical portions of the historical books (Judd. v., 1 Sam. ii.; 2 Sam. xxiii.), with profuse additions. These

1 Comp. Winer, l. cit. p. 8, sqq. Eichhorn (II. s. 44, ff.) here discovers Babylonian forms and expressions, but without foundation.

2 Comp. סמגיא (s. Bochart, hieroz. II., p. 393, Rosenm.) Winer, p 35.

3 The more recent attempt by Luzzato in the work already cited. Comp. Hall L. Z. 1832, 4, s. 26, ff. The text is made to harmonize with the Hebrew original with particular frequency.

4 Comp. Wolf, bibl. Hebr. II., p. 385, sq. Le Long, bibl. s. ed. Masch. I., p. 95, sq. Winer, l. cit. p. 12, sq.

additions often very much resemble each other (comp. Judges v. 8 with Isaiah x. 4; 2 Sam. xxiii. 4, with Isaiah xxx. 26. See Hulsius' Theol, Jud. p. 157, et al.)[1]

If the author has laboured to embellish the text and to enrich it with glosses and traditions, he has in this entirely followed the taste of his contemporaries; and besides he had the example of precedents. Even the book of Sirach is lavish in pronouncing eulogies on famed Theocratists, and the Targumist pursues the same course,[2]—his paraphrase, generally speaking, being in many respects analogous to that book in the entire view it gives of ancient history and prophecy. Of especial importance are the Jewish opinions of that day with which the work is interwoven, and the theological representations,—in introducing which a special preference was given to the Book of Daniel. Examples of this are, the interpreting of the phrase "Stars of God" by "People of God" (Isaiah xiv. 13, comp. Dan. viii. 10; 2 Macc. ix. 10); the application of the passage in Dan. xii. 1 to that in Isaiah iv. 2; in Isaiah x. 32 the author introduces a legend framed in imitation of the narrative in Daniel chap. iii., which is repeated by later Targumists (comp. Targ. Hieros.; Gen. xi. 28, xvi. 5; 2 Chr. xxviii. 3) in Isaiah xxii. 14, lxv. 15, he has interwoven the doctrine concerning the *second death* (see Apoc. ii. 11; Baumgarten-Crusius, Bibl. Th. s. 341); in Isaiah xxx. 13 he mentions Gehenna;[3] a particular example is the doctrine concerning the Messiah peculiar to him, which he frequently brings in in connection with non-Messianic passages also; this doctrine, however, he presents in a still very simple form—sometimes giving it a close resemblance to the New Testament representation of it (comp. *e.g.* Isaiah xlii. 1, ff.; Matt. xii. 17, ff.; but from this the LXX. differs); at other times differing from it (comp. Zechariah xii 10, s. Hengstenb. Christol. II. s. 300.) The 53d chapter of Isaiah he recognizes as referring to the Messiah, and assumes a suffering and expiatory

1 Comp. Gesenius, Comment. on Isaiah i., s. 69, ff., against Eichhorn's assertion (repeated also in the 4th edition II., s. 66, ff.) in favour of a variety of authors; to which Maurer also in his Comment. on Jos. s. 185, ff. shews a leaning.

2 Examples of this are likewise the historical representations of Josephus. S. Bretschneider, capp. thecl. etc. p. 18. Thalemann, de nube super arca foederis, p. 125, sq.

3 But with simplicity, and in phraseology similar to that peculiar to the New Testament, and without the embellishments of a later style. Buxtorf, lex. p. 395, sq.

Messiah. He nevertheless here as well as elsewhere (*e.g.* Micah v. 1) indulges in many perversions.[1] He seems to have entertained —in germ at least—the idea, which became further developed in the Talmud, of a Messiah submitting to obscurity for the sake of the sins of the people, and then appearing in glory.[2] "Jonathan's Targum on the Prophets"—Zunz therefore justly remarks (s. 332) —"as a result of studies which were instrumental in forming fixed national opinions, proves that a considerable time before, it was customary to explain the contents of the prophetical books, by means of targumical prelections or otherwise, to the public. Nay he commends the teachers for—even in evil times—teaching the Law in the synagogues, at the head of the congregations." A careful discrimination ought certainly here to be made in reference to what has at a later period been introduced by interpolation. Even Raschi (in Ezekiel xlvii. 19) speaks of interpolations in the text of Jonathan יעי, and Wolf says: Quae vero, vel quod ad voces et barbaras, vel ad res aetate ejus inferiores, aut futilia nonnulla, quamvis pauca triplicis hujus generis exstent, ibi occurrunt, ea merito falsarii cujusdam ingenio adscribuntur.[3]

The style also of Jonathan is upon the whole the same as that of Onkelos: Cujus nitor sermonis Chaldaei et dictionis laudatur puritas, ad Onkelosum proxime accedens et purum deflectens a puro tersoque Chaldaismo biblico (Carpzov, crit. s. p. 461.) We certainly meet (as in the case of Onkelos) with a number of Greek words, but not with any Latin words, as Eichhorn maintains, without however, proving it.[4]

The principal editions are in the Bomberg and Buxtorfian Bibles, and the London Polyglott. Of the Paraphrase of the Minor Prophets several books have been separately published at the press of the Stephens, 1552–57,—Hosea by H. von der Hardt. (Helmstad. 1702), a second impression Göttingen 1775 (by J. D. Michaelis.)

[1] Comp Hengstenberg, Christol. I. 2, s. 291, ff. III. s. 304.

[2] Comp. Micah iv. 8 with Zechariah iii. 8, iv. 7. Comp also Justin M. dial. c. Tryph. n. 8.—Meanwhile, the work of Jonathan discovers no traces of a polemical tendency against Christians, as is asserted by Eichhorn, Einl. II. s. 63, 64, 4th edition.

[3] Bibl. H. II. p. 1165. Zunz, s. 63, 282 (comp. Gesenius, loc. cit. p. 68) reckons as belonging to this, every thing hostile to Rome, particularly the mention of Armillus, and things similar. However, such things may in part at least be considered as belonging to a period immediately preceding the Christian era.

[4] Einl. II. s. 66. The word קיונרא is hardly = *corona*, but is derived from קרן.

§ 81. TARGUM JERUSCHALMI ON THE PENTATEUCH AND THE PROPHETS.

The greater simplicity which characterized the older Targums soon ceased to satisfy the progressively degenerating taste of the Jews, especially after the Talmud began to assume a written form. Hence Targums marked by greater laxity soon began to be written, which embraced more of the opinions peculiar to the age, and furnished the text with richer traditional addenda. Of these latitudinarian Targums we possess two on the Pentateuch,—the one known by the name of Pseudo-Jonathan, inasmuch as writers of a later period ascribe it to the author of the Targum on the Prophets ;[1] and the commonly so-called Targum Hierosolymitanum. A more minute and very thorough investigation[2] has proved that both are internally one, and has led to the conclusion that the Targum on the Pentateuch improperly attributed to Jonathan, existed among the ancients under the name of *Targum* of *Palestine* and *Hierosolymitanic Targum* of which there were several editions extant ; so that our Pseudo-Jonathan is identical with the Targum Jeruschalmi—the fragmentary Targum, on the other hand, is only a different edition of it.

The design of this class of writings differed entirely from that of the earlier pre-talmudic productions. In the one case we have simply an effort called forth by necessity, to render the simple meaning of the text into a language universally understood, and to introduce the requisite explanations, only where these seemed to be necessary. In the other case we have a work written in conformity with the laws of allegorical interpretation enjoined in the Talmud, (Kidduschin f. 49, 1) and abounding, to excess, in allegory and traditional supplement.[3] Accordingly, if some of the author's explanations are the offspring of ignorance or want of exegetical

1 S. Pfeiffer, de Targumim—opp. II. p. 875.

2 In Zunz, loc. cit. p. 66–72. The same even by earlier writers, such as Carpzov, l. cit. p. 448, sq.

3 Noster (Pseudo-Jon)—omnia sibi licere ratus, vix quinque aut sex versiculos de verbo reddidit, plurima in summum arbitrium effusus, addendis, mutandis, pervertendis sententiis integris ad ingenia popularium ita accommodavit, ut persaepe non libros sacros sed commenta Rabbinorum legere tibi videaris. Winer, de Jonath. in pent. paraphr. chald. spec. I. (Erl. 1823.) p. 8.

penetration, still, we must by no means attribute to this cause all the instances that occur of a perversion of the text, and of a Pseudo-Hermeneia, since he possessed a general knowledge of the paraphrase of Onkelos, and frequently avails himself of it; but these peculiarities may properly be attributed to an intentional and arbitrary combination of, and trifling with the meaning of words, of which the Talmud everywhere furnishes full evidence. Winer, even, l. cit. p. 10, sq., has not sufficiently apprehended this design, and therefore the sentiment "ridiculam declaravit inscitiam quae vix in tironibus tolerari potest" is not correct, because it does not take into account the stand-point of the author. This mode of interpreting, however, is borrowed from traditional usage, as are the supplements and legends with which the author enriches the text, and most of which occur again in the Talmud.[1] "Almost all his explanations and embellishments coinciding with the Hagadah we find occurring in the other Hagadah writings; the few which are peculiar to him, he has not devised any more than Jonathan has devised his interpretation of the Prophets. In both, the culture of the age, and the potency of traditional ideas, are manifest."[2] The fewer the exegetical facilities accordingly, which this paraphrase offers for the understanding of the Old Testament, the more important is it as being replete with examples of the mode of interpreting, and of the theological doctrines[3] peculiar to the Jews at a later period. The more so because the traditions peculiar to it were derived not only from the Talmud, but also from older Targums written in a freer style (s. Zunz, s. 75)—their higher antiquity being sometimes confirmed even by the New Testament.[4] The use made of the Talmud, and the mention of it (s. Ex. xxvi. 9. Jon.); the expressions indicative of a later age; and the barbarous style abounding in foreign words,[5] prove the Targum to have originated in the second half of the seventh century (Zunz, s. 73, ff.)

It has justly been assumed that there were extant such freely

[1] Comp. Carpzov, l. cit. p. 447. Winer, p. 25. The more correct view was also entertained by Petermann, de duabus Pentat. paraphr. Chald. (Berol. 1829,) part I. p. 39

[2] Zunz, loc. cit. p. 72.

[3] Comp. Winer, p. 31.

[4] Comp. 2 Tim. iii. 8, and Targ. Exod. vii. 11. (comp. concerning the usage generally Petermann. p. 53, sq.); 1 Cor. x. 4; Targ. Num xxi. 19.

[5] S. the compilation by Petermann, p. 64, sq.

executed Targums on the Prophets also, (see Zunz., loc. cit.) Even the fact that here in the Targum of Jonathan there exist several Targums combined, which are sometimes accompanied by the express declaration תא״ (תרגום אחר) might have suggested this.[1] The Talmud also frequently mentions a Targum of Joseph on the Prophets, and the passages of it occur again in our Jonathan.[2] To a superfluity Bruns has besides actually found traces of a hierosolym. Targum on the prophets, in MSS.[3]

The Paraphrase of Pseudo-Jon. and the Hierosolymitanum on the Prophets are in the London Polygl. vol. IV. For other editions see Rosenmüller, Handb. III., s. 9. On the criticism of the text s. Petermann, 1, cit. p. 5, sqq.

§ 82. THE TARGUMS ON THE HAGIOGRAPHA.

Translations of the Hagiographa may, even according to intimations in the Talmud, have existed early enough:[4] those now extant all owe their origin to a later period. The intimations of the Rabbins concerning the authors of these, are much divided, and the mention of various authors by them[5] of itself indicates a diversity of authorship, which is also confirmed by their internal contents. The Hagiographa taken as a whole are ordinarily translated into Chaldee;—though some, such as the Book of Chronicles, particularly late,—with the exception of the books of Ezra (and Nehemiah) and Daniel. The reason at least alleged in the Talmud (Megillah f. 3, 1,) for the non-translation of the book of Daniel,—the revelation of the time when the Messiah was to appear,—is certainly nothing to the point, but seems nevertheless to prove that even at that time a translation of these books was regarded with suspicion, on account, as it appears, of the Chaldee portions of them, since the sacred text of the original would thus

[1] S. Eichhorn, II., s. 72, ff.

[2] S. Coccejus, ad tr. Sanhedrim c. XI. p. 326, sq.

[3] S. Repertor. XV. s. 174, (the passage Zech. xii. 10. Comp. with this the talmud. passage in Hengstenberg, Christol. I. 1, s. 284.)

[4] Comp. also Elias Levita in תשבי, s. v. רמז.

[5] Comp. Iuchasin, p. 53. Elias Levita praef. in Tisbi and in Methurgem R. Asarjah, Meor Enajim, p. 148. Concerning Joseph the blind (in the 4th century), who is mentioned by most, s. Wolf, bibl. Hebr. II., p. 1171, sq., Köcher, nova bibl. H. II. p. 215.

have been mixed up with the paraphrase—a thing which superstition could not tolerate. The most of these paraphrases again are portions of various translations, which were combined, or repeatedly revised editions of the same Targums.

A distinction ought in the first place to be made in regard to the Targums on Proverbs, Psalms, and Job. The Targum on Proverbs adheres particularly closely to the Hebrew text, having but few and unimportant deviations from it (such as x. 20, xi. 4, 15.) Its consonance with the Syriac version is remarkable, and repeated attempts have been made to explain this circumstance by assuming that the author was dependent on that version, and made use of it in writing the Targum.[1] But without sufficient grounds. For the partial harmony of both versions is sufficiently explained by the literal character of both and the affinity of the idiom. But this argument is considerably outweighed when the deviation of both versions from each other is considered,—since it is thus nevertheless necessary to assume that the Hebrew original was used. Of the least weight-as an argument in support of that assumption, is the use made in this Targum of some Syriac forms and expressions, since this may with equal propriety be regarded as the peculiar dialect of the author.[2] Besides, almost all these Syriasms are to be found in the Talmud (especially in the T. Hierosol.)[3] But special notice ought in this respect to be taken of the affinity of style obtaining in this Targum with that on Psalms and Job and the T. Jeruschalmi—a circumstance which would place it in the class of later paraphrases,[4] whilst it is at the same time allied to the literal

1 Comp Dathe, de ratione consensus versionis chaldaicae et syriacae Provv. Salom., opusco. p. 109, sq. Eichhorn, Einl. II., s. 106, ff. Bauer, chrestom. Chald., p. 140, sq. Berthold, Einl. II., s. 600.

2 Thus it is not likely that any one reasoning conversely would, from the Chaldaizing colouring of the Hierosolymitana of the New Testament (s. Adler, verss. Syr., p. 141, sq.) infer a Chaldee original.

3 Such as the ג in the third pers. fut. (comp. Danz, Rabbin. enucl., p. 79); מנו, ܡܢܘ, (ibid., p. 60, 103); הלין, ܗܠܝܢ, Buxtorf. gr. Chald., p. 37, et al.

4 Comp. *e.g.* the affixed *nun* in the 3d pers. plur. praet. Peal (*e.g.* Prov. ix. 11. Buxt., p. 54); Infinitive with מ praef. (according to Syr. Analogy Buxt., p. 83, 116); קָאֵי instead of קָאִים, Pr. xxiv. 16 (comp. Num. x. 35. Jon., and in the Talmud Danz, l. cit., p. 97 and 112; אוֹבֵד, "in posterioribus paraphrastis, Jobi, Psalmorum et Provv. sub forma hujus conjugat., habet etiam significationem Kal." Buxt., p. 136; גּוֹר = ּגָיַר, moechari, Provv. vi. 29, 32, גִּיּוֹר, adulter xxx. 20, so likewise Targ. Job. xxxvi. 20; Jon. Ex. xx. 14; Levit.

character of those of an earlier date. The Targum on Psalms and Job in many respects resembles the other in point of phraseology and conception, and is therefore considered as proceeding from the same author.[1] All the three Targums, however, are interwoven with others of a freer character, resembling in their mode of commenting the Targum Jeruschalmi, which latter, as regards Job and Psalms, partly are found in our editions also, and are furnished with the distinctive mark תי"א.[2] Psalms, Job, and the first part of Proverbs as extant in the Cod. Erpen. were furnished with such interpolations in the form of marginal glosses.[3] The Psalms certainly seem here and there to indicate a spirit inimical to Christians; this however proceeded from older Jewish expositions. Comp. Ps. ii. 7, 12 (where the קבילו אולפנא is even in the LXX. rendered *δράξασθε παιδείας*, and occurs as a Talmudistic explanation, Sanhedrim, f. 92, 1), Ps. cx. 1, (where similar interpretations were meanwhile introduced even by the older Jews, comp. Michaelis, Krit. Colleg., s. 626, ff. Hengstenberg, Christol. I. 1, s. 141.)—The Targums on Ruth, Koheleth, Canticles, comment in the thoroughly free style of a Midrasch. Their post-talmudic origin is proved by the mention of the Talmud (Cant. i. 1, v. 10), and of Mahometans, (Cant. i. 7), as likewise by their style; they are enriched chiefly with the legends which in part only occur in Hagadical writings of more recent times.[4]—On Esther there were particularly many Targums, inasmuch as this book formed one of the favourite books of later Judaism. One of concise form, and adhering closely to the text, occurs in the Antwerp Polyglott (tom. 3); it was issued, enlarged by glosses, in Targum prius et posterius, in Esth.—stud. Fr. Taileri. London, 1655, 4, and forms here the T. Prius (of which there is an impression in the Lond. Polygl.); much more prolix, and amplifying still more the legends of this Targum (s. i. 2, 11, ii. 5, 7, iii. 1, v. 14, et al.), is the T. posterius in Tailer; other Targums still are extant in manuscript.[5]

xx. 10; נימוס, *νόμος*, Syr. ܢܡܘܣܐ. Targ. Pss. and Provv., f. תורה Buxt. lex., p. 1349; ,רומיא ,ܪܘܡܝܐ hodie, Pr. vii. 14; Gen. xxiv. 42, Jon.; מיחן, exspectare, Buxtorf, lex. p. 1282, gr. Chald., p. 439, et al.

1 S. Le Long, biblioth. Sacra I., p 91.

2 Comp. Carpzov, crit. s., p. 463, sq.

3 Comp. Walton, prolegg., p. 583, sq.

4 Comp. *e.g.* Carpzov, colleg. Rabbin. in libr. Ruth, p. 56, 88, sq. 181.

5 S. Catal. codd. MSS. bibl. Bodlej. I., p. 432.

With the Jews of Palestine, these supplements ran parallel with those peculiar to the Jews of Alexandria; and how these, which probably besides embodied an older Palestinian element (s. Joseph. Ant. XI., 6, 6, ff.), were likewise taken into affinity with the others, is evident from their having been translated into Chaldee, though in a free style.[1]—For some time even Jewish authors[2] believed there existed no Targum on Chronicles. Nevertheless there is one *(a.)* in the older manuscript of Erfurt, whence it has been edited by Beck (Aug. Vindel. 1680 and 1683); but this cod. has considerable omissions, chiefly in the genealogical portion of Chronicles; *(b.)* in the cod. Erpen. of the Cambridge Library, complete, and edited by Wilkins, Amstelod. 1715 (very correctly), after Lightfoot had already much used it,[3] and Sam. Clarke purposed at an earlier period to edit it; *(c.)* in the cod. Dresdensis, No. 598 (comp. Bahrdt, progr. de incluto cod. Dresd., Carpzov, crit. s. p. 382, sq.), which has not yet been collated. A chief evidence of the comparatively recent date of this Targum is the use made, in compiling it, of the Targum Jeruschalmi on the Pentateuch.[4]

The Targums on the Hagiographa are to be found in their most perfect form in the London Polyglott; concerning several editions not mentioned s. Rosenmüller, Handb. 3, s. 12, ff.

§ 83. THE SYRIAC PESCHITO.

Of the translations of the Old Testament, issued by Christians, one of the oldest is that belonging to the Syrians, known by the name of Peschito (ܦܫܝܛܬܐ), or the Simple.[5] Three explanations of this name have been given: *(a.)* Bertholdt (II., s. 593) regards it as a translation of the expression, *κοινή*, the circulated. But this interpretation is out of place here, as much as is that *(b.)* sanctioned by others (as Eichhorn, II., s. 125): simplex, *i.e.* litteralis, the

[1] Comp. de Rossi, specimen variarum lectionum sacri textus et Chald. Esth. additamenta. Tubing, 1783, 8, p. 103, sq.

[2] Comp. Juchasin, f. 54.

[3] Comp. *e.g.* hor. Hebr. ad Joh. disq. chorogr., 4, 1, ad Joh. 1, 1, etc.

[4] Comp. Carpzov, crit. s. p. 474, mention of the Hungarians, 1 Chr. v. 10.

[5] The often incorrectly apprehended significations of the root ܦܫܛ are connected thus: The primary meaning is *to draw off* (exuere) *to spread out* (expandere)—thus

verbal.[1] *(c.)* It has been more correctly translated,[2] the simple, *i.e.* adhering to the literal meaning, as opposed to the allegorical translations and expositions,[3] which meaning the expression likewise generally bears in Chaldaic and Rabbinical phraseology.[4]

As respects the *age* of this translation, both internal and external evidence testifies of its early origin. The following is here advanced on this point. (1.) The first author whom we find making use of this version, is Ephraem Syrus, as the first interpreter of Scripture in the Syrian Church. Later authors accordingly so express themselves as if anterior to this, the Hebrew original had been in use, but a hindrance to this practice interposed by Ephraem.[5] This translation had in his time met with a general reception among the Syrians, on which account also he calls it *our translation* (ܦܫܝܛܬܐ).[6] Even this circumstance justifies us in placing the date of its origin considerably anterior to Ephraem's times, because a translation but recently issued would hardly in those times have been favoured with so universal a reception. Of importance likewise is the mode of procedure adopted by this Father in making use of this translation. It is, namely, a striking circumstance, that many expressions in it had even to him become obscure, or at least seemed to him to need explanation for the sake of his contemporaries. Thus, the explanation of ܠ by essentia, substantia, shews of course that he was unacquainted with the use of this word as a sign of the accusative;[7]—the expression ܟܣܘܣܒܪ, Coriander

in Hebr. Syr. Arab.,—then, copiose rem exponere,—so the Arabic بسط; then extended over a plain: to be extended; also to be flat; hence بسيطة, superficies; also tropically the simple element, res simplex. The adjective بسيط embraces all the three significations, expansus, aequalis, simplex (flat and simple). Freitag, lex. Ar. I., p. 122.

1 Perhaps defined thus already by Barhebraeus, (in Wiseman, hor. Syr., p. 86. Bernstein, chr. Syr. p. 141): ܠܘܬ ܟܬܒܝܐ, "which harmonizes with the Hebrew text."

2 So Gesenius, Comment. on Isaiah I., s. 81. Hirzel, de Pentat. vers. Syr.—indole p. 17. Hug, Einl. I., § 62.

3 S. v. Lengerke, de Ephraemi s. arte hermen, p. 121, sq., 128, sq.

4 A similar use is made likewise of ܦܫܛ, *e.g.* in the case of Ephraem in Hahn and Sieffert, chr. Syr., p. 160.

5 S. Tacriti, (comp. Hottinger, bibl. orient., p 87) in Pococke, praef. ad Joel, fol. 2.

6 S. opp. t. I., p. 380 (ad 1 Sam. xxiv. 4).

7 Opp. I., p. 6, cll. p. 116 (where the correct explanation in the Catena does not belong

(Exod. xvi. 31; Num. xi. 7.) Ephraem incorrectly interprets by, *food of all kind* (s. Lengerke, de arte herm. p. 25, sq.);—the word: ܢܨܦܣܐ for דוּדָאִים, Gen. xxx. 14, he explains by: *it is said to be*, etc.[1]—so the ܨܠܦܐ, quiver, Job xxix. 23; Wisem. p. 130, with which the scholium of Barhebraeus concerning the gender of the word may also be compared (Bernstein, chr. Syr. p. 207.)—So the ܨܢܝܠܐ, Isaiah iii. 24; Wisem. p. 131, and other examples in Wiseman, particularly p. 134, 136. Wiseman has from such passages justly inferred the high antiquity of the version in question. (2.) The traditions of the Syrians, moreover, agree with this inference. The first witness in support of this is Jacob of Edessa, who, in a remarkable passage[2] communicated by Barhebraeus, speaks of "those translators who were sent to Palestine *by the Apostle Thaddeus and the Edessenic King Abgarus*, and who have translated the Scriptures." This testimony is corroborated by that of Jesudad, Bp. of Hadath (of the ninth century), who holds that a portion of the Old Testament was translated already in Solomon's time by desire of King Hiram; and that the rest of the Old Testament and the New Testament were translated likewise at the time mentioned by Jacob of Edessa.[3] That traditional fact, however, was introduced in connexion with the subject under discussion to gratify the national vanity of the Syrians, who were eager to discover in this alliance of Solomon with the King of Tyre an event flattering and honourable to the Aramaic race.[4] Both these traditions are repeated by Barhebraeus (loc. cit.), and to them he adds a third, purporting that the Peschito was written at the time the Priest Asas came among the Samaritans; and from these opinions he for himself seems to decide for its apostolical origin.[5]

Now if with these traditions we compare the high antiquity of a Syrian Church in Edessa, and the early rise, in that place, of a

to him,) s. Credner, de prophet. min. vers. Syr. indole, p. 17, et p. 31; where consequently Hoffmann, gr. Syr. p. 299, not. 2, is wrong in attempting to defend Ephraem by the later addition of the Catena.

1 "Quid fuerit Syris plane, Ephraemo paene ignotum." Wiseman, p. 122.

2 From the Cod. Vatic. Nr. CLXXI. (the Scholia of Barh. on the Psalms) fol. 84 (ad Ps x.), in Wiseman, p. 103.

3 S. Gabr. Sionita, praef. ad Psalter. Syr. and Assemani III. 1, p. 210—212.

4 Comp. Wiseman, p. 97, sqq.

5 Comp. Abulpharagii hist. dynast. ed. Pococke, p. 100.

Syrian literature,[1] the ancient Edessenic origin of the Peschito appears to be justly regarded as the tenable element in them. But the surer the indications of its having originated in Edessa, the stronger is the proof of its antiquity, inasmuch as writers living in this very place, even of the fourth century, found much in it that was obscure. On the other hand, we find in the translation a strong leaning towards the Hebrew text, even in point of expression, and an affinity with Chaldaic expression; indeed, the traditions all point to the bearing of a Palestinian or Jewish influence on it, as Wiseman (p. 102) has strikingly shewn. But these circumstances are sufficiently explained when it is borne in mind how all Syria, and particularly Mesopotamia too, were filled with Jews even in Josephus' time.[2] In this way it is obvious how a Jewish influence would produce in the Peschito of the Old Testament a relation to the Hebrew text similar to that sustained by the New Testament to the Greek text.

It ought, moreover, to be well considered that besides this influence of Jewish tradition as affecting the Peschito, it does not upon the whole appear, that aid from any other source was made available in its compilation. For, what has been advanced in support of the use of the LXX. must partly be attributed to subsequent interpolation—a not unlikely source of modification, because, as is evident from the example of Jacob of Edessa, the Peschito was re-written according to the Syro-Hexaplaric translation, —or at least an attempt was made to harmonize both versions, when glosses from other translations were brought into requisition, which might easily creep into the text. A further solution of the question regarding the use of the LXX. must be sought by a reference to exegetical tradition—a source of aid which is besides available in investigations touching the origin of the LXX.[3] A certain approximation to the Chaldaic paraphrases, by which the Peschito is partially pervaded, is likewise explicable in this way,— especially when the Jewish influence just noticed is kept in view,— the degree of this approximation being hardly such as to justify the inference that an actual use was made of these paraphrases.[4]

1 S. Ath. I. § 22.

2 Comp. Credner, l. cit p. 45, v. Lengerke, l. cit. p. 15.

3 Comp. in respect to this Eichhorn, Einl. II. s. 142, ff. Gesenius, loc. cit. I. p. 82. Hirzel, p. 100, sq. Credner, p. 107, sq. Rödiger, hall. Litz. 1832, Nr. 5, s. 36, ff.

4 Comp. Gesenius, s. 83. Credner, p. 88, sq. 110, sq. Rödiger, loc. cit. Nr. 6, s. 41.

The preceding remarks will already have led to the conclusion, that the Peschito is a Christian production. Its internal character proves this assumption to be correct. This is apparent already from the entire absence of renderings resting on Jewish doctrinal opinions—a circumstance all the more important, because this kind of renderings had partially become established, especially in the Targums (in reference, for instance, to the avoiding of anthropomorphisms), and a Jewish author would by no means have been unacquainted with those paraphrases, or failed to avail himself of them. Some things are besides positive evidence of this, as, for example, a certain negligence and inaptitude in rendering the Levitical Laws —especially the passage about clean and unclean beasts.[1] But this is particularly apparent from its interpretation of the Messianic passages, as Isaiah vii. 14, lii. 15, liii. 8;[2] Zechariah xii. 10; Ps. ii. 12, xvi. 10, xxii. 17, cx. 1, 3. These passages are sufficient to overthrow the opinion of R. Simon,[3] that the author was a Jew; at the most, one may imagine a Jew Christian, which would be corroborated by the partial acquaintance with Jewish tradition.[4]

An attempt has been made to make out, from internal evidence,[5] whether the Peschito be the production of more than one author; but the evidence has at best proved itself very feeble. Of greater importance is the unanimous *traditional* testimony in favour of a plurality of translators, as afforded by the passages of Syrian authors already noticed. To these may be added the decisive testimony of Ephraem. On Jos. xv. 28 he remarks: "since those who translated (the passage) into Syriac did not know the meaning of the Hebrew בזיותיה," et cet.[6] In the case of single books he elsewhere, of course, only mentions the individual translator of the respective books (s. opp. I. p. 498, F.)

The passage of Ephraem just quoted is at the sametime an

—Still less can it be shewn that the Hexapla was made available, as maintained by Semler, Vorber. der theol. Hermeneutik. s. 382—394. See as opposed to this Dathe, praef. ad Psalter. Syr. p. 10, sq. Kirsch, praef. ad edit. Pentat. Syr.

[1] Levit. c. 11; Deuter. xiv. 18—19; Hirzel, l. cit. p. 127, sqq.

[2] Comp. Gesenius on Isaiah i., p. 86.

[3] Hist. crit. du V. T., p. 272.

[4] So Dathe, praef. ad Psalter. Syr. p. XXIII., sq., whose arguments, however, are in part very feeble.

[5] Eichhorn, Einl. II. p. 133.

[6] Opp. t. I., p. 305, B. Credner, l. cit. p. 2, is wrong in pronouncing this passage to be spurious; comp. v. Lengerke, comment. crit., etc., p. 24.

evidence of the fact, that the Peschito was formed from the Hebrew original. And this is completely established by an examination of its internal nature. Of all the old translations known, none adheres so faithfully to the original as the one in question. Besides, it in general gives a very happy rendering of the meaning of the ground-text. Where explanations are given, this likewise is done only in cases of immediate necessity, and in the absence of all paraphrastic prolixity. The occurrence of additions or corrections is rare and only exceptional, though some of them must be regarded as interpolations, (*e. g.* from Ephraem's Commentary),—others as peculiarities of the Syriac idiom.[1] Most of the differences seem to occur in the Psalms, as is evident, not only from the numerous but probably more recent[2] inscriptions (in the London Polyglott), but also from the text itself.[3] This has been correctly explained[4] by the manifold use which was made of the Psalms for liturgical purposes—a practice which would almost inevitably lead to those alterations.

The Peschito, in respect of *compass*, originally embraced only the canonical books of the Old Testament. This, considering its immediate connection with the Hebrew original, follows as a matter of course. In the time of Ephraem Syrus it still existed without the apocryphal additions to Daniel,[5] and also without the books of the Maccabees, as is apparent from quotations by Ebedjesu.[6] The postscripts of codices which Pococke has made known, lead to the same result; he says: nec verosimile est, ullum apocryphorum

[1] Comp. the proofs of this particularly in Carpzov, crit. s. p. 626, sq. Gesenius, loc. cit. p. 81, ff. Hirzel, p. 18, sq. Credner, p. 82, sq.

[2] They especially agree with the interpretations of the Christian Fathers, see Clarisse Pss. XV., Hammaaloth, p. 14.

[3] So says Dathe, psalter. Syr. p. 120 on Ps. lvi.): Tantus est in hoc Ps. dissensus interpretis nostri a textu Hebr., ut vix unum versum eodem modo legisse inveniatur. Omnino in vers. Syr. Psalmorum id videtur acidisse,—quosdam Pss. scribarum vitiis magis quam alios infectos esse, quosdam plures varias lectiones offerre quam alios, haud tamen difficulter dignoscendas perito horum rerum judici etc. comp. also praef. p. XXVII.

[4] Comp. *e. g.* the Rituale Syr. in Knös, chr. Syr. p. 55, sq., which gives also some specimens of readings.

[5] Comp. Assemani, I., p. 72. Polychronius (s. Lengerke, d. B. Daniel S. CXII.) *εἰδέναι δὲ δεῖ ὡς οὗτος ὁ ὕμνος οὐ κεῖται ἐν τοῖς ἑβραϊκοῖς ἢ ἐν τοῖς συριακοῖς βιβλίοις.* The history of Susanna is, so far as I know, mentioned for the first time, and regarded as canonical by Syrian authors, in the Syriac Letters of Clemens Romanus, published by Wetstein. Cf. Daniel sec. LXX., Gott. 1774, p. 213.

[6] S. Assemani, III., 1, p. 7, not. 5.

librorum simplici eo stylo inveniri, quippe quibusdam eorum expresse praefigitur, uti primo libro, eum conformatum esse ad versionem τῶν LXX., et sub finem ejus, eum non reperiri in versione simplici, quod idem reperitur ante Tobiae librum (praef. ad Joel, fol. 6.) Still, the Apocrypha must have been translated into Syriac at an early period, since even Ephraem cites them, without however, regarding them as canonical books.[1]

The Peschito has with the lapse of time, and whilst in the hands of various religious sects, been subjected to various *recensions*. The edition of the *Nestorians* is first of all known by means of the scholia of Barhebraeus, where it is frequently cited, especially in connexion with the Psalms. It, however, had respect only to interpunctuation. "Nec unquam inveni punctorum et apicum discrepantiam excedere excepto uno forsan altero loco, quem nunc memoria non teneo, in re tamen nullius prorsus momenti."[2] Besides this edition, Barhebraeus cites in connexion with the Psalms, the Karkaph also. This recension was the subject of much dispute until Wiseman examined with greater minuteness the Codd. Vat. Nr. 153, Barberin Nr. 101, which contain its readings, when he arrived at the conclusion, that it also had for its basis the text of the Peschito, though marked by a peculiar interpunctuation allied to Greek orthography,—that in other respects it differed in immaterial points only, from the common text of the Peschito, excepting in a peculiar arrangement of the books. This recension belongs, as the postscripts of the codices shew, to the *Monophysites*, and owes its origin to the predilection entertained by this Sect for the Greek text. Its name (montana) it probably takes from the place of its origin, the mountain of Sigara, and the Convent of the Jacobites situated there.[3]—Barhebraeus mentions also the oriental and occidental manuscripts of which he had availed himself; and this he seemingly does with a special view to the recensions respectively adopted by both religious sects.[4]

The earliest edition of the Peschito is that in the Paris Polyglott

[1] S. v Lengerke, de E. S. arte herm. p. 3. Concerning the varied arrangement of the Biblical books in the codices, see Assemani, III., 1, p. 4, sq. Adler, bibl. krit. Reise s., 103, ff. Wiseman, p. 212, sq.

[2] Wiseman, p. 141. Comp. p. 143, 144, 208. Rhode, l. cit., p. 9.

[3] S. Wiseman, p. 149—257.

[4] S. Rhode, l. cit., p. 8, sq.

with the accompanying translation by the Maronite Gabriel Sionita. It is very faulty, and where the manuscripts have proved insufficient the text has been supplied from the Vulgate.[1] The reprint in the London Polyglott has been effected by calling in the aid of manuscripts purposely made; nevertheless, "it was mere ostentation that led Walton so highly to commend the text as constituted under his auspices. The latter has in most respects been rather more negligently attended to than the former."[2] Various readings to this were furnished by Herb. Thorndyke (in the 6th Part of the London Polyglott), comp. besides the Remarks of Professor Lee on the collation of manuscripts of the Syriac translation in Winers Neuem Krit. Journal I. 2, s. 149, ff. A really improved edition by the aid of codices, is that of Lee, London 1823–4, comp. Rödiger's review, lib. cit. Nr. 4, s. 28, ff. The Pentateuch by Kirsch and the Psalms by Dathe (Halle 1768) are edited singly. For works bearing on the criticism of the Peschito, particularly out of Ephraem S., see not. g. s, 97 of de Wette.

§ 84. VERSIONS DERIVED FROM THE PESCHITO.

To this class belong Arabic translations in particular; and first of all the translation of the book of Job[3] contained in the Paris and London Polyglotts, as likewise that of Chronicles.[4] A more recent and very minute examination of the Polyglott-Arabic version has discovered that from the same source has proceeded the translation of the book of Judges, Ruth, 1 and 2 Samuel, 1 Kings chap. i.—xi., 2 Kings xii. 17—chap. xxv., Neh. ix. 28—chap. xiii., and that it was effected by various Christian authors of the 13th or 14th century.[5] Comparison with this translation accordingly contributes much that is of importance in the criticism of the Peschito.[6]

Several translations of the Psalms, particularly the edition

[1] S. Walton, prolegg., p. 609. Michaelis, Abh. v. d. syr. Spr. s. 67.

[2] Rödiger, H. Lit. Z. Nr. 5. S. 38, comp. Kirsch, pentat. Syr. (Hof. 1787), praef. p. VIII., sq.

[3] Comp. Michaelis, Einl. I. s. 140, ff. Eichhorn II. s. 282, ff.

[4] S. Rödiger, de orig. et ind. Arab. etc. p. 102—104.

[5] S. Rödiger, l. cit. 1, I., c. 2, 1, II., c. 2, 4, 5.

[6] S. Rödiger, l. cit. p. 75, sq.

alleged to have been printed on Mount Libanon (1585 and 1610) also follow the Peschito,[1] as likewise the Psalter existing in the British Museum (cod. Nr. 5469.)[2] The Pentateuch of Abulphragius Abdallah Ibn Attajeb also follows the Peschito, but has hitherto remained unknown;[3] as likewise other unprinted Pentateuchs in Paulus, spec. verss. Pentat. Ar. p. 36, sq.

§ 85. ARABIC TRANSLATIONS.

Three translations made directly from the Hebrew have up to the present time been known. *(a)* That of the learned Rabbi Saadias Gaon of the 10th century,—paraphrastical, and not without a tincture of Rabbinism, but a noble monument of the philology of that day, and a valuable aid towards the understanding and elucidation of obscure passages.[4] We know, as written by him, the translation of the Pentateuch, which was printed in Constantinople as early as 1546 (in the Hebrew character), and afterwards reprinted (in the Arabic character) in the Paris and London Polyglotts, unfair attempts have been made to dispute its authenticity.[5] Not only has this been triumphantly defended by Schnürrer,[6] but the publication by Paulus (Jena. 1790, 91, 8,) of the translation of Isaiah, which quite harmonizes[7] with the other in respect of style, has established it with still greater clearness. The text of Isaiah in that edition requires much emendation.[8] Of the translation of Saadias there has besides been printed only a portion of Job from a M.S. transcribed by Gesenius in Oxford.[9] What its original compass was is upon the whole uncertain.[10]

1 See concerning this Schnürrer, bibl. Arab. p. 341, sq., 351, sq.

2 S. Döderlein, in the Repert. II., s. 159, ff., 170, ff.

3 S. Schnürrer, dissertatt. philol. p. 203.

4 Concerning his character as a translator, comp. Carpzov, crit. s. p. 646 sq. Gesenius on Isaiah i, p. 90 ff. Kosegarten, hall. Lit. Z. 1822. Nr. 155, p. 365 ff.

5 O. G. Tychsen, in Rep. XI., p. 82, 112.

6 S. dissertatt. p. 191 sqq.

7 S. Tychsen, in Michaelis N. Orient. Bibl. VIII., p. 76 ff.

8 See on this the writings cited in loc. cit. by Gesenius, and his, as also Hitzig's Commentaries on Isaiah.

9 S. Stickel, in Jobi loc. celeberr. c. XIX., 25, 27, de Goële comment. Jen. 1832,) p. 29 sq.

10 S. concerning this Eichhorn's Allg. Bibl. II., s. 181, ff.

(b) The translation of the Polyglott Arabic version has in part proceeded from the Hebrew original itself. So the translation of the Book of Joshua, as confirmed by the postcript,[1] and that of the following passages: 1 Kings xii., 2 Kings xii. 16, Nehem. i. 9, 27.[2] The latter passage is (according to Rödiger) the production of a Jewish author; the translation was, however, at a later period altered, according to the Peschito, by Christian hands; it in many respects harmonizes with that of the Book of Joshua. The passage from the Books of Kings is the production of a Jew of the 11th century.

(c) The Pentateuch edited by Erpenius (Arabs Erpenii) was written by an African Jew of the 13th century.[3] The translation adheres very scrupulously to the masorethic text; it nevertheless harmonizes with the Targums in avoiding anthropopathical expressions and such like. The style of expression peculiar to it is the vulgar Arabic; it moreover frequently borrows from the Hebrew expressions which are quite foreign to the Arabic.[4]

The Arabic Psalter in the Bodlein Library (s. Schnürrer, in Eichh. Bibl. III., s. 425 ff.) and Genesis in the Mannheim Library (s. Rink, ibid p. 665 ff.), are known only by means of isolated specimens. The translation of Saadias Ben Levi Askenoth of the 16th century (s. Wolf, bibl. Hebr. III., p. 863), in the British Museum (cod. number 5503), which comprehends Genesis, Psalms, and Daniel (s. Döderlein, in Repert II., p. 153, ff.), is likewise not printed.

§ 86. PERSIAN TRANSLATION OF THE PENTATEUCH.

Already at an early period there seems to have existed a translation of the Old Testament in the Persian language. At least Chrysostom and Theodoret[5] speak of such a translation. According to Maimonides also the Pentateuch was translated into Persic long

1 S. Maurer, commentary on the Book of Joshua, p. 185.

2 Rödiger, l. cit. l. I., cap. 8, 1, II., c. 3.

3 Pentateuchus Mosis Arabice. Lugd. Bat. 1622. The Leiden Codex is written in the rabbinical character, for which the editor substituted the Arabic.

4 Comp. Erpen. in the preface of his edition. Hottinger, thes. philolog. p. 271 sqq.

5 The former in the homil. II. in Joann., the latter in de curand. Graec. affect. 1, 5.

before Muhammed, and the Talmud seems to hint at the same thing.[1] But the Persian translation of the Pentateuch which has come down to us, and which was printed at first in Constantinople in 1546, and then in the 4th part of the London Polyglott, (the Hebrew character having been used in the former case, and the Persian in the latter), is undoubtedly of later origin.[2] This is particularly apparent from the name *Babel* being rendered *Bagdad* (Gen. x. 10)—a proof that it owes its origin to a period at least later than the 8th century.[3] The same thing is confirmed by the internal character of the work. A literal rendering of the Masorethic text predominates, whilst the Hebrew construction is imitated, and many Hebrew expressions are adopted in face even of the Persian idiom. As regards the exegesis, it upon the whole harmonizes with Onkelos, and it does so no less with Saadias.[4]

According to the inscriptions in the Constantinopolitan edition too, this translation was made by a Rabbi Jacob, son of Joseph Tawus. Only about the latter name there is diversity of opinion inasmuch as some take it for a proper noun (*tawus* means *peacock* in Persic), others for an adjective: Tusensis, ex urbe Persica Tus (where a celebrated Jewish school flourished).[5]—Whilst the Persian translations of the Psalter mentioned by Walton (prolegg., p. 694), have proceeded from the Vulgate, a direct translation of the writings of Solomon has meanwhile been discovered by Hassler in Paris codices (Stud. ü. Krit. 1829, s. 469, ff.)

3. LATIN TRANSLATION.

§ 87. THE VULGATE. EARLIEST HISTORY OF THIS TRANSLATION.[6]

Jerome, whilst still engaged with the emendation of the Itala,

1 S. Zunz, die gottesdienstl. Votr. d. Juden s. 9, Anmerk.

2 S. Rosenmüller, de versione Pentateuchi Persica. Lips. 1813, 4.

3 Bagdad was built in the year 762 (145 of the Hegira.) Abulfeda, ann. moslem. II., p. 14, 27, Adler.

4 Comp. Rosenmüller, p. 10, sqq. Lorsbach, Jen. A. Lit. Zeit. 1816. Nr. 58.

5 Comp. Rosenmüller, p. 4, Lorsbach in lib. cit., p. 459. Bernstein, in Bertholdt's krit. Journ. B. V., p. 21.

6 Besides the introductory treatises, comp. on this subject, especially Hody, de bibl. text. orig. P. II., Martianay prolegg. in div. Hier. biblioth., Schröckh, K. G. IX. s. 128, ff., L. van Ess, Pragm. Krit. Gesch. der Vulgata. Tüb. 1824.

already thought of a new translation to be made directly from the original. His conviction of the wide departure from the ground-text which marked the Alexandrine translation, and his knowledge of the Hebrew language, for which, considering the age in which he lived, he was distinguished, induced him to undertake this work, and confirmed him in his purpose. With Origin for a precedent, he to meet the scrupulosity and prejudice of his contemporaries in regard to such an undertaking, availed himself of the plea, that he was induced to enter upon the work chiefly by motives of polemical opposition to Judaism.[1] Several of his friends also encouraged him in this, particularly the learned Bishop Chromatius. After the year 385 he accordingly commenced by translating the books of Samuel and Kings, and though, in the years 392 and 393, he had already completed the Old Testament, it was not till a later period that he edited the greater portion of the translation.[2] He had easy access to good Hebrew manuscripts; he adhered to the exegetical tradition of the Rabbins, his teachers, without thereby precluding the use of other auxiliary means, particularly the older versions; his hermeneutical principles, moreover, which, upon the whole, are very sound, inasmuch as he censures and avoids extreme literality tending to obscurity on the one hand, and arbitrary deviation from the original on the other, render his work one of the most distinguished productions of ecclesiastical antiquity. Only his want of firmness and independence of character sometimes led him, from fear of innovation, to prefer older authority to his better conviction; his work suffered injury too from the precipitancy which he frequently engaged in it.[3]

This work met with a very unfavourable reception in the Latin church. Misgivings about its want of harmony with the LXX., and the absence of the critical signs in cases of deviation, were expressed by Augustin. Rufin, however, who imagined he discovered in this innovation, heresy and a corrupting of Scripture became the

[1] Comp. Jahn I. p. 222. A really polemical tendency I however do not discover in Jerome, but only accommodation to the principles of his time, which he hoped to overcome by a leaning to the earlier customs of the Church. This is especially apparent from the views entertained by Jerome about the non-corruption of the Hebrew text by the Jews, in which particular he differed in opinion from his contemporaries. (S. Hody, P. II. cap. 3.)

[2] S. Hody, p. 256—358.

[3] Jahn, s. 223, 324.

vehement opponent of Jerome.[1] Of greater moderation was Augustine's judgment, who at a later period, moved by the defence of Jerome, was led to acknowledge the usefulness of his undertaking, and even to make use of the work.[2] The translation, however, was sanctioned ecclesiastically first[3] in Gaul, especially among the Semipelagians, as the testimonies and writings of Cassian, Vincent of Lerius, et al. (in Hody, p. 397, sq.) prove. The writing of Vincent, entitled Commonitorium pro catholicae fidei antiquitate et universitate adv. profanas omnium haereticorum novitates, so much read and highly respected in the West, may in particular have contributed much to promote the increasing circulation and growing authority of the work. This writing in its citations follows Jerome throughout. To this was added subsequently the weighty authority of Gregory the Great, who in his praef. ad Moral. in Job. explains that the apostolical chair made use of both translations, and that in consequence of this he also availed himself of them in his work. We thus find that even in the time of Isidorus Hispalensis (died 636), the translation of Jerome was universally received and its worth acknowleged.[4]

But this very circumstance contributed to the corruption of the text. The Itala was used along with Jerome, and thus alterations were effected on the one translation by means of the other. The liturgical use of the translations—a practice which seems to have become established only by degrees and after successive modifications, rendered this all the more inevitable. The Psalter, therefore, as the book in the older translation chiefly used for liturgical purposes, and best known, continued to be paramount in the Church; and in general the Psalterium Gallicanum was used. The Apocrypha also, of which Jerome had translated (from Chaldee originals) only Tobit and Judith, were retained according to the

1 The decision, of the Greek church concerning the work of Jerome was far more favourable. The Patriarch Sophronius even translated the translation of the Psalms and Prophets into Greek; and it is apparently from this source, that the fragments of a Greek version, cited by the Fathers under the designation ὁ Σύρος, have been derived; see Eichhorn I., § 207.

2 Comp. in regard to this Engelstoft, Hieronymus, p. 115, sq., Van Ess, loc. cit. p. 110, ff.

3 The earlier traces of its having been used (comp. *e.g.* Hody, p. 388) are but of rare occurrence.

4 Cujus editione generaliter omnes ecclesiae usque quaque utuntur, pro eo quod veracior sit in sententiis et clarior in verbis De offic. eccles. I., 12.

older translation,—Jerome having in the case of Esther, Jeremiah, Daniel, already included the Apocryphal Supplements, taking care, however, to mark them as not canonical (Hody, p. 358.)—A like result also must have flowed from the eagerness displayed to amend the later translation by means of parallel passages;—the Books of Kings and of Chronicles were thus corrected by means of each other, and the like. Alterations and interpolations were introduced into the translation even from Josephus.[1]

§ 88. FURTHER HISTORY OF THE VULGATE.

So early as the time of Charlemagne, the need for a revised edition of so corrupted a text was strongly felt. The celebrated Alcuin was commissioned by the Emperor to undertake this business, and he probably executed it by means of a comparison, not merely of the original text, but also the best manuscripts.[2] By this circumstance of reverting anew to the Hebrew ground-text, the Vulgate, however, still more lost the character of its original condition. In the eleventh century it again became necessary to institute a new revision of the text; and this was undertaken by Lanfranc, Archbishop of Canterbury, in connexion with other learned men of his day. His work, however, did not circulate much beyond England, and in the twelfth century the Romish Cardinal and Librarian Nicolaus (author of the work: de S. S. emendatione) again discovered so much confusion[3] that he was obliged to institute a new revision.—Others became inspired with a like zeal, and after the twelfth century were begun the correctoria biblica (epanorthotae), in which the Latin text was furnished with glosses from other MSS., older fathers, and other venerated teachers of the Church; and these observations were also written in a separate form.—The Sorbonne was the first institution that furnished such work for its students; and in this it was followed by other learned or religious corporations such as the Dominicans. These correctoria even became the occasion of vehement contentions, for when the Archbishop of Sens wished to introduce the correc-

1 Comp. Eichhorn, II. § 335.

2 Comp. Baron., annal. eccles. ad a. 778, No. 27, sq. Hody, p. 407.

3 He speaks of it in this way: lustrans armoria nequibam—veracia exemplaria invenire, quia et quae a doctissimis viris dicebantur correcta—adeo discrepabant, ut paene quot codices tot exemplaria reperirem. S. Hody, p. 417.

torium of the Sorbonne into France, the Dominicans interdicted its use to all the members of their order (A.D. 1256.) The correctorium of Paris, consisting of four volumes folio, was in the Abbey of Citeaux until the time of the revolution. Another celebrated correctorium was that of Hugo a St Caro, executed by command of Jordanus, General of the order of the Dominicans, of which there was a transcript in the monastery of St Jacques in Paris,—a copy is also extant in the library of Nürnberg.[1]

The Vulgate was thus by no means extricated from its state of confusion, when in the second half of the fifteenth century the text began to be printed. This version engaged a large share of attention after the discovery of the art of printing. The first edition having the place and year of its publication specified is that of Mentz 1462. The corruption of the text now became more apparent than ever, and an *apparatus criticus* was therefore formed. Adrianus Gumelli furnished his Edition—Paris 1504—with various readings, so likewise Alb. Castellanus (Venet. 1511.) The Franciscan Petrus (Brescia 1496,) and the Editors of the Complutensian Polyglott, attempted to issue more correct editions; these, however, were chiefly corrected by means of the original text. So also Rob. Stephanus, who superintended eight editions, and in the first three likewise adopted corrections from the ground-text. The learned Catholics Jean Benoist (Paris 1541) and Isidor. Clarius (Venet 1542) executed their editions in the same way, and still the latter complained of the numerous errors with which the text abounded.[2]

These efforts at criticism, however, took a different turn after the assembling of the Council of Trent. The fourth of its sittings was devoted to consultations touching the Holy Scriptures. On 20th February 1546 a commission under the presidency of Archbishop Filhol was appointed to report on the state of the text of the Vulgate. On 26th February Cardinal Polus declared that the controversies with Luther were chiefly connected with, and had their origin in the Scriptures,—that no ecclesiastical authority was acknowledged in this respect.—The Commission reported (17th March) that the text was in so dreadful a condition that the Pope alone was

1 S. Bertholdt, Einl. II. s. 617, ff. Specimens of the Correct. existing in the Paulinum in Leipzig, see in Carpzov, crit. s. p. 686, sq.

2 Comp. the more minute details concerning the Editions of the Vulgate in Le Long, bibl. s. II. 2, p. 58, sq. ed. Masch.

competent to correct it. This report was followed by hot debates. The Dominican Aloysius of Catana proposed that a new translation be made according to the original text under the superintendence of the Council, and that this translation be pronounced authentic. Isidorus Clarius, on the other hand, wished an amended Vulgate, but declared it to be his opinion that Jerome should upon no account be held as inspired. Controversies at last arose even respecting the author of the Vulgate, when many denied the authorship of Jerome.

The result of the discussion was the resolution adopted on 8th April: insuper eadem sacros. synodus considerans non parum utilitatis accedere posse ecclesiae Dei, si ex omnibus Latinis aditionibus, quae circumferuntur, librorum sacrorum, quaenam pro authentica habenda sit, innotescat, statuit et declarat, ut haec ipsa vetus et vulgata editio, quae longo tot saeculorum usu in ipsa ecclesia probata est, in publicis lectionibus, disputationibus, praedicationibus et expositionibus pro authentica habeatur et ut nemo illam rejicere quovis praetextu audeat vel praesumat. The setting aside of the original text, or regarding it as inferior to the translation, is certainly not directly expressed here; but the latter point is clearly implied, inasmuch as the use of a translation is made binding where a reference to the original text alone ought to decide (as "in disputationibus"); on which account also the absolute authority—here accorded to the Vulgate—demanding the recognition of all parties ("authentica = quam nemo rejicere debet"), is certainly such as ought to belong only to the Scriptures in the original. Hence also this point, as fixed by the Council, did not serve—considering the differences that characterized the editions hitherto issued—to invest the translation with the intended authority; and therefore it was resolved: ut posthac sacra scriptura, potissimum vero haec ipsa vetus et vulgata editio quam emendatissime imprimatur,—an ingenious evasion whereby the corruption of the text was attributed simply to inaccuracy in printing; and this evil it was assumed might therefore be avoided, by the exercise of greater care,—the proper correction of the Vulgate itself being entirely kept out of view.[1]

When the decision of the Council became known in Italy, it was treated with derision; but the Court of Rome found itself in a

[1] Comp. on this subject Walch, Einl. in die polemische Gottesgelahrtheit, s. 628, ff.; Marheinecke, System des Katholicismus II., s. 246, ff.

position not a little embarrassing, and the Cardinals Farnesi and Maffeji signified their dissatisfaction in the matter. But the mistake once committed was henceforth only employed by the Popes as a pretext for new assumptions. The Council had been as far as possible from charging them with the correction of the Vulgate, and had on this account even nominated a commission for effecting this work, when Paul III. unexpectedly commanded the Council to discontinue their edition and await the decision of the Cardinals; so that there was no more mention of a new edition until the closing of the Council (1563). Meanwhile the theologians of Louvani sought to remove the difficulty, and Joh. Hentenius, under their commission, effected an amended text (according to the 4th Stephanic Edition) Louvain 1547. But in the year 1564 Pius IV. interdicted, in the Index librorum prohibitorum, the preface of Isidor Clarius, and began himself with his Cardinals to prepare an edition of the Vulgate, which his successor Pius V. continued. But only under Sixtus. V. in the year 1570 appeared the edition: Biblia sacra vulgatae editionis ad concilii Tridentini praescriptum emendata with a preface by the Pope, in which the correctness of the edition is most highly lauded;—its faultiness, however, became apparent even before its publication; and this it was attempted to remedy by erasing, pasting over, and the like. The appearance of any other edition was nevertheless interdicted, "particula ulla vel minima mutata, addita vel detracta." In 1592, however, there appeared a new edition, begun by Gregory XIV., and completed by Clement VIII., which differed much from the Sixtine edition[1]—the copies of which the Popes endeavoured to the utmost to destroy. The title bears the following inscription: Sixti V. jussu recognita et Clementis VIII. auctoritate edita; and the preface of it is written by Bellarmine.[2] In the following year (1593) Clement VIII. prepared another new edition, which sustained many alterations. This has continued to be the normal edition of the Vulgate in the Catholic Church, of which all later editions may be regarded merely as reprints, wherein even the most evident mistakes are faithfully repeated.[3]

[1] The readings are collected in Thom. James, bellum papale. London, 1600. Comp. Schellhorn, amoenitat. litter. T. IV. p. 433, sq.

[2] Comp. concerning the controversies occasioned by the falsehoods contained in this preface, Rosenmüller, Handb. III. p. 262, ff.

[3] Latest editions by Leander van Ess. Tübingen, 1822, 1824, and Frankfurt, 1826, 8.

§ 89. VERSIONS DERIVED FROM THE VULGATE.

1. The Anglo-Saxon translation—consisting of the Pentateuch and the book of Joshua, as translated by Abbot Aelfric, of the tenth century, with the later translation of the Psalter—has been made from the Vulgate.[1]

2. The Vulgate has been repeatedly translated into Arabic, and many such translations exist in the Libraries.[2] The whole Bible was thus printed at the instance of the Propaganda, Rome 1671,[3] and from this edition the London Bible Society have made a reprint (London, 1822.) Another translation, prepared by Bishop Raphael Tuki, which however comprised only a portion of the Old Testament, appeared in Rome 1752.[4]

3. Into Persic also, the Psalter at least has been translated from the Vulgate. Walton was acquainted with two manuscripts of this translation, which were the production of the beginning of the seventeenth century (Prolegg. p. 694.)

§ 90. TRANSLATIONS OF THE PENTATEUCH, ACCORDING TO THE SAMARITAN RECENSION.

As the edition of the Pentateuch peculiar to the Samaritans was not an independent work, so their translations also were characterised by a leaning to the works of the Jews, whose eager imitators they were. When the Greek translations of the Old Testament were begun in the second century, an impulse to similar efforts seems to have developed itself among the Samaritans also. The tradition preserved by the Christian Fathers, that Symmachus had prepared his translation, in opposition to a Samaritan translation,[5] points to a connection in itself very probable. The Fathers of the third and fourth centuries also mention *a Greek translation* of this kind as extant among the Samaritans under the name of τὸ

1 Not from the LXX, as was incorrectly assumed; see De Wette, Einl. § 78.

2 S. Adler, krit. Reise, S. 177, ff.

3 S. Schnurrer, bibl. Arab. p. 364, sq.

4 See concerning this Aurivillius, dissertatt. p. 308, sq. ed. Michaelis, Schelling im Repert. X. s. 154, ff., Rosenmüller, Handb. III. s. 63, ff., Schnurrer, bibl. Ar. p. 384, sq.

5 See concerning this Hody, de bibl. text. orig. p. 586.

Σαμαρειτικόν. The existence of a proper connected translation of this kind has been doubted; it rather appears, however, that the author of it participated in the notions inimical to the LXX., at that time prevalent, and that he too wished to undertake a correction of it, whence he adhered more or less closely to the LXX., introduced explanations in the case of more obscure passages, or improved it in his own way.[1]

A second translation is that written in the Samaritan dialect, whose age is not known. For, the information obtained by means of the most recent correspondence with this people concerning a certain Nathanael as the author, is too uncertain to be much depended on.[2] It is, upon the whole, a very literal rendering of the text, but quite in the manner of the Targums; it, like them, is marked by a scrupulous paraphrasing of the Divine name,—an avoiding of anthropopathies,—an applying of euphemisms.[3] A peculiarity so really Jewish and characteristic of the Targums, betrays a use of these in the preparation of the Samaritan version; and this ought to have been taken into account by those who would have this translation regarded as an independent work.[4] For certainly its harmony with Onkelos is in itself not such as to justify the conclusion that the Samaritan translation is based on that of Onkelos;[5] on the contrary there is really considerable difference between the two, and the circumstance already noticed only points to an influence emanating from Jewish theology as laid down in the Targums and operating among the Samaritans. The discrepancy just noticed is however sufficiently explained, when we accord to the Greek-Samaritan translation a higher age than to the one in question; and since both remarkably harmonise in some respects,[6] the assumption may not be unfounded that the Samaritan translation was dependent on the other, and at the same time enjoyed the benefit of the Targums.[7]

1 S. Eichhorn, I. p. 559, ff., who very properly disputes the assumption of Winer (de versione Pent. Samarit. p. 9), that this translation had proceeded from the Samaritan translation.

2 S. Gesenius, de Pentat. Samar. p. 18. Winer, l. cit. p. 8, sq.

3 Comp. Winer, l. cit., p. 60, sq.

4 As Winer, l. cit., p. 64, sq.

5 As *e.g.* Eichhorn will have it, II., p. 326, 327.

6 S. Winer, l. cit., p. 9.

7 This translation is printed in the Paris and London Polygl. For particulars concerning codices and editions, see in Winer, p. 10, sq.

Of a later date than either of those translations is the *Samaritan-Arabic* translation of Abu. Said[1] of the eleventh or twelfth century. It is written in bad Arabic, and is characterized by a strong leaning to the Hebrew text and even phraseology—the Samaritan translation and that of Saadias having besides been made available in its preparation.[2] The latter indeed was the occasion of this Arabic translation, since the other may have been in the hands of the Samaritans, until after the decay of their language they became possessed of the translation of Abusaid. In two Paris codices this translation is furnished with Scholia, which in the preface are alleged also to have proceeded from Abusaid, but whose internal character betokens another author.[3] This translation has not yet appeared in print as a whole; only detailed descriptions and specimens of it have been communicated.[4]

II. HISTORY OF THE EXEGETICAL TREATMENT OF THE OLD TESTAMENT IN THE GENERAL.

§ 91. PRELIMINARY REMARKS.

Interpretation embraces a wider circle than the history of versions, though both are very closely connected. For interpretation, viewed on its objective side, is nothing else than the justification of translation, and vindicating the quality of the latter, and the spirit in which it has been executed. Viewed subjectively, however, interpretation shows us the manner in which an epoch brings its peculiar mode of thought into union with Scripture, and what influences and treatment the latter has been exposed to. Whilst, then, in the history of versions only those possess a special interest for our object in which the more ancient exegetical tradition, approximating to the original sources is represented, the history of exegises comes in as supplementary to this, since it informs us of the peculiarity in the epoch or tendency which bears upon the subject.

1 However the name changes in the prefaces of the Paris manuscripts: comp. de Sacy, in Eichh. Bibl. 3, p. 6, ff., 10, p. 5, and Eichhorn, Einl. II., p. 265, ff.

2 S. Eichhorn, p. 271, ff. Gesenius, l. cit., p. 20.

3 Comp. Gesenius, l. cit., p. 20, 21.

4 Comp. Eichhorn, p. 267—270.

Our historical survey must here be restricted to the more comprehensive departments, especially such as appear in history as constituting epochs. Comp. Buddeus, Isagoge histor. theolog. ad Theologiam universam singulasque ejus partes 2 Voll. Lips. 1730. Rosenmüller, historia interpretationis libr. sacr. in ecclesia Christiana 5 voll. Hildburg, 1795—1814. Meyer, Geschichte der Schrifterklärung seit der Wiederherstellung der Wissenschaften. 5 Bände. Gött. 1802—1808.

§ 92. ANCIENT JUDAISM.

Immediately after the closing of the canon we find Scripture interpretation in vogue among the Jews; and this assumed different characters according to the differences in Judaism itself. First of all peculiar is the supreme attachment of the Alexandrian Jews to the dogmatico-speculative contents of Scripture, and the development of these according to their philosophic systems. Though this philosophy was far removed from the faith of Judaism, there remained all the more the necessity of allying it by an outward bond to the letter of Scripture. For this the allegorical interpretation served as a vehicle, which must be viewed not merely as an imitation of the hellenic custom, but as having its deeper source in the entire tendency of the Alexandrian mind, and its internal alienation from what is properly Hebrew. Hence to renounce entirely the literal sense of Scripture[1] was quite accordant with this species of Judaism; and though the more cautious acknowledged its existence, they assigned it a subordinate place, and thus depreciated the proper interpretation, into the place of which the arbitrary allegorising had been raised. The beginnings of this attempt are seen in Aristobulus, its culminating point in Philo,[2] whilst in the Apocryphal writers it hardly appears.[3]

Josephus shows the mode of interpretation followed by the Hellenists of Palestine. With him there is far more of respect for the historical contents of Scripture. His design, however,

[1] As happened in the time of Philo, who, however, opposed it; see Philo de emigrat. Abraham, p. 430.

[2] Comp. Plank, de principiis et causis interpretationis Philon. allegoricae. Gott. 1816.

[3] See Dopke, Hermeneutik d. NTl. Schriftst. s. 116, ff.

is pre-eminently apologetic, rather than historico-critical, and though he is a copious source of explanations of passages, yet he is here also fettered by uncertain tradition and arbitrary embellishments. He was deficient in thorough knowledge of the Hebrew, and he contributes but very little to the philosophical understanding of Scripture.[1]

To the proper Palestinian Judaism the study of the legal portion of Scripture constituted the main object of attention. Hence Pharisaism aimed supremely at a *μετὰ ἀκριβείας ἐξηγεῖσθαι τὰ νόμιμα*.[2] With them also, in consequence, the ordinances they introduced could not be grounded on Scripture, otherwise than by means of allegory and accommodation. It is true they held fast the simple literal meaning, but still as one simply adopted from tradition. Hence even with the Talmudists there is not found an interpretation of their own so much as a development of proofs of their *δευτερώσεις* from Scripture, since they proceed upon the principle that for every question in this respect there is an answer expressly in the Pentateuch. For this, however, they had much sounder hermeneutical rules than those of the Alexandrians. The Talmudists carefully distinguish the literal meaning of a passage (פְּשָׁטָא, sensus innatus), though as to this they sometimes differ (see *e. gr.* B. Sanhedrin, f. 106, 2) from the sensus illatus (מדרש, דרשה.) The former is again twofold, according as the writer himself meant his words to be taken properly (פשט), or improperly, having in view another or figurative sense (סוד, as in symbols, parables, &c.) The sensus illatus is either drawn according to the common hermeneutical rules out of the words, so that no violence is offered to them—the combining of an object with that of the text, such as the latter may, according to the hermeneutical rules, be held to intimate (דרש), or it is a purely arbitrary combination, a mere accommodation without any respect to hermeneutics (רמז.) Now, to bring out these various meanings it was in the first instance necessary to investigate all individual expressions, forms, and clauses, and there are in respect of this to be found in the Talmudists some admirable observations, which deserve more respect than has commonly been paid to them.[3] It was, however,

[1] Comp. Gesenius, Gesch. d. Hebr. Spr. s. 80, ff.
[2] Jos. de Bell. Jud. II. viii. 14; Antiqq. XVII. 2, 4.
[3] Comp. Wähner, Antiqq. Hebr. I. 358, sq

easy also in this way, as, on the one hand, by means of hermeneutics, the traditional ordinances were combined with the written law, so, on the other, to retain the latter in its correct literal signification, and to preserve the consciousness of its original meaning ever alive.[1]

We thus find in ancient Judaism two tendencies, differing greatly in a hermeneutical respect (their difference here running parallel with their difference in reference to the treatment and constitution of the text); the one, the Alexandrino-gnostic, which, from a speculative egoism, views the results of philosophical abstraction as essentially sustained by the words of Scripture, treats these results as forming with it one inseparably connected whole, and esteems Scripture, and the interpretation thereof, of value only as it stands in, or may be brought into, harmony with the philosophical modes of treating the individual subjectivity: the other, the Palestino-orthodox tendency, which, springing from a firm adherence to the letter of the written word throughout, holds fast by it as an historical element, but, at the same time, regards it as one which possesses a significancy for the historical development of the present,—that all in the latter must be referred back to the former, so that the reverence-imposing halo that surrounds the past and its documents should shed at least a glimmer on subsequent time, conscious of its destitution. In the former tendency we have a depreciation of history, and of that which is borne up by it as of permanent importance, and an over-estimation of the present, of the wisdom of the age; in the latter, on the contrary, we have a revered retrogression to the historical monument, to which it was considered that special respect was paid when an extension of the law was based upon it, though in this the consciousness of the more or less of self-will, and of what was foreign [to the original document] in that extension, and by consequence the more or less closeness of adherence to the pure word of Scripture was never lost.

1 Hence it is an entirely perverted view when these hermeneutical distinctions are treated as only productive of confusion in the department of Talmudic exegesis, as *e. gr.* by Döpke, l. c. s. 138, ff.

§ 93. EXEGESIS OF THE FATHERS.

We possess no interpretations of the Old Testament properly so-called belonging to the earliest age of the Church; nevertheless what does exist here in detached portions is so far of interest as it shows how strongly the attention of the Fathers was directed towards bringing the dogmatical contents of the Old Testament into accordance with the Christian consciousness. The period immediately succeeding that of the Apostles understood the Old Testament in a quite popular way; but by degrees the polemical position of the Christians towards Judaism begat a more scientific consideration of it. Since, however, the peculiar historical position of the Old Testament was too remote in point of time, and they were also not fit to appropriate in a living form the ancient to themselves, or to enter into it historically, their exegetical method of treating it remained an almost purely apologetico-dogmatical.

In this way arose in the ancient Church a twofold exegesis as especially predominant. It was found that the grammatico-historical interpretation was not fully satisfactory, and hence it was exchanged for the carnal Jewish method, by which means the Christian element in the Old Testament came to be dispossessed. Hence preference was given to the allegorical and typical interpretation, by which an affinity was created with the Alexandrian Judaism,[1] though a meaning more or less sound, according to the dogmatical stand-point assumed, was at the same time communicated to this mode of treating Scripture. The Messianic passages especially engaged the notice of the early church teachers (as in the case of Justin Martyr, Irenaeus, Tertullian, &c.), in their treatment of which, amidst much that is true, there is also much that is arbitrary of an allegorical and typical kind. The principle that all the New Testament is contained in the Old, as Tertullian for instance maintains (adv. Marcion. l. IV.) in opposition to those who found nothing of the New Testament in the Old, has no doubt its

[1] As for instance in the Letters of Barnabas, who manifests a striking accordance with Philo.

profound truth, but it led to the transposition of what belonged to the Old and New Testaments respectively, subverted the historical basis of both, and so prepared the way for an objective unfounded arbitrariness of explanation.

Opposed to this method was that followed by the Anti-Judaic Gnostics. With them we find a stringent literal mode of explanation; which, however, became perverted from their misapprehending the thoughts, and clinging exclusively to the expressions, and then founding on this purely external mode of treatment a system of attacks upon the Old Testament. The most remarkable document of such a coarsely literal and carnal exegesis is Marcion's Antitheses, in which dogmatical constraint permits no more than to gnaw at the shell without even having an inkling of the kernel of the Old Testament, but which is so far interesting as it is the forerunner of a more recent and not less outward exegesis.[1]—More peculiar is the method of Valentinus and his school (especially of Heracleon), with whom there is found an effort to dissever the divine from the human, not only in the Prophets, but also in the Pentateuch;[2] only that here again all is disposed of in one-sided a priori assertions, without penetrating to the historical stand-point, so that the most arbitrary separations are assumed where the union of the human and divine, the stamping and glorifying of the latter, in the former should have been acknowledged.—In the same category may be placed also other phenomena, such as the assertions of the falsifications of the Old Testament in the Clementines, and among the Manichæans.

A special and in its influence on the whole succeeding age remarkable tendency was assumed by the Old Testament exegesis in the Alexandrian school. Here first appeared scientific interpretations, of which mention is made as early as by Pantaenus,[3] but which are chiefly known to us through Clement of Alexandria and Origen, who have not only communicated their hermeneutical principles, but also a portion of their interpretations. In the hermeneutics of this school, there predominated the reference of the historical to the ideal, inasmuch as ignoring what was peculiar to

1 Comp. Hahn, Antitheses Marcionis Gnostici. Regiom. 1823.

2 See Neander, K. Gesch. Th. II. Abt. 2. [Torrey's Translation, vol. ii., p. 135—146. Clarke's For. Theol. Lib.—Tr.]

3 Comp. Hieronymus, Catal. Scrip. eccl. c. 36. Mosheim, de reb. gest. Christ. ante Constant. M. p. 300.

individuals in the revelation, it was attempted to generalize and spiritualize whatever was special. Origen particularly, setting out from the position that in general wherever it is possible the letter is to be retained with the spirit, and that consequently much that is didactic (as the Decalogue) must be taken only in the proper sense, endeavoured to determine more exactly the limits within which in interpretation the one and the other was to be taken only spiritually. But in doing this he substituted a fluctuating subjective feeling for objective reasons, and acted consequently very prejudicially towards especially the historical portion of the Old Testament, since here he encountered principally what was unintelligible and puzzling, which he endeavoured to remove by means of allegory. He sought also always to make out the psychological meaning inhering in the literal, and to bring it into harmony with the Trichotomy of human nature,[1] without considering how this dividing and severing was at variance with God's word as a concrete revelation. Origen wrote in his threefold manner Scholia (σημειώσεις) Commentaries (τόμοι) and Homilies on the Old Testament, but only a very small part of his entire works have reached us, though much has been borrowed from him and used by later writers.[2]

In opposition to the school of Origen arose the Antiochenian, in which the historical exegetical tendency of the oriental Church predominated. To this belong Theodorus Heracleota,[3] Eusebius of Emesa, Diodorus of Tarsus, who, according to Suidas, commented on the whole Old Testament, and his disciple Theodorus Mopsuestenus, and his younger brother Polychronius, Bp. of Apamaea. From the writings of the two latter known to us,[4] we may obtain a pretty correct notion both of the good and the bad in this tendency. Justly opposed to the allegorical interpretation, and renouncing its

1 [*I.e.* the threefold division of man's nature into Body, Soul, and Spirit, σωμα, ψυχη, πνευμα.—Tr.]

2 See the Literature in Gieseler K. G. I., 231, 242. [Davidson's Trans. I., 232, 243. —Tr.]

3 He wrote a Commentary on the Psalms (Hieron. catal., c. 90) and is also cited in the Catenen on Isaiah (Montfaucon Coll. nov. Pat. II., 350.)

4 The Commentt. of Theodorus on the Minor Prophets, partially contained in A. Maii collect. n. Vet. Scriptorum T. I. [illegible] in full in T. VI. (Rom. 1832). Comp. Sieffert, de Theodor. Mops. Vet. Test. sobrie interpretandi. Regiom. 1827. On Polychr. Comment on Daniel see Ang. Mai l. c. t. I.

arbitrariness, this system strove to carry out the hermeneutical principle that every passage can have but one sense, and thus to restore its rights to historical and grammatical investigation. On the other hand, however, it did not escape the danger hence easily arising of overlooking the dogmatical contents of Scripture, reducing its peculiarity to something general and human (of which *e. gr.* the explanation of the Song of Solomon by Theodor. Mops. may serve as a specimen), and employing a self-seeking censure and arbitrary pseudo-criticism.[1] Hence though the novelties of this school met with but little of a thorough and learned opposition, yet they contravened the orthodox dogmatical consciousness of the age, and their discrepancy with the Church and the Church doctrines became ever more and more apparent. The properly Christian point of view was here most properly a Jewish, under which name those who thought differently, as for instance Theodoret, assailed it.[2]

Whilst the most eminent Dogmatists and thinkers, even when not attached to the theological system of Origen, nevertheless followed his exegetical method as that best agreeing with the Church doctrine, as Eusebius of Caesaria, Athanasius, Basilius, Cyrillus Alex., the two Gregories,[3] others adopted a middle path. To this class belong, for instance, the schools which flourished in Mesopotamia and their offshoots, in which an attempt was made to combine the grammatical and literal with the spiritual; and as especial regard was paid to the first of these, more valuable results for exegesis have proceeded from this quarter than from the Origenian Exegetes. In this spirit are written the comments of Ephraem Syr, Theodoret, and Chrysostom.[4] The interpreters give usually first the historical and then the spiritual interpretation. For the Old Testament Ephraem and Theodoret chiefly afford help, and that not merely the former for the Peschito, and the latter for the LXX.; but both even for the original text, since though they do not comment directly on it, yet they supply excellent historical and linguistic illustrations of it, and in general hit the truth.—Of the

[1] As is evidenced by the history of Messianic interpretation in this school; see Hengstenberg, Christol. I. i. 354.

[2] As also there is an historical relation of dependence from the exegesis of the Jews not to be overlooked. See v. Lengerke de Ephr. Syr. arte herm., p. 63, sq.

[3] See v. Lengerke, l. c. p. 55, sq.

[4] See v. Lengerke, l. c. cap. 3.

Latin Church we name but two, but these from their very difference from each other peculiarly important interpreters—Jerome and Augustine, whose relation to each other Luther has happily described as that of the grammatical to the dogmatical interpretation. Jerome was unquestionably the one of all the Fathers who brought to the study of the Old Testament the largest amount of learning and diligence. His writings are the most copious mine for the rabbinical tradition of his age, the critical state of the text, the versions, older patristic interpretations, and other important historical notices. But he is totally deficient in independence, as an interpreter he wants decision, and he aims chiefly at the work of compilation, in which, however, he has usually selected the best. Most sadly is his acuteness at fault in regard to the dogmatical and ethical parts of Scripture. In this respect Augustine as far surpasses him as he surpasses Augustine in real learning and hermeneutical principle.[1] As respects the help rendered to exegetical science by means of Archaeology, the most valuable portion of patristic literature is the work of Eusebius *περὶ τῶν τοπικῶν ὀνομάτων ἐν τῇ θείᾳ γραφῇ* which was translated with alterations into Latin by Jerome.[2]

By the one-sided dogmatical tendency of the Fathers there had been formed especially in reference to the Old Testament, an exegetical tradition, beyond the rigid retention of which the most eminent teachers did not venture, and the following of which became ultimately the Shibboleth of orthodoxy.[3] From this came a thoroughly dependent and dead character into Exegesis. Excerpts and repetitions of what had been said before were regarded as sufficient. The more theology decayed the less did exegesis flourish. It was ever more and more a mere making of *Catenae*, from which the slight element of originality, found in the earlier ones as that of Procopius of Gaza in the 6th century,[4] came gradually to disappear.[5] What marked all those, especially in the

1 Comp. Engelstoft, Hieron. interpres, criticus exegeta, apologeta etc. Hann. 1787. Clausen, Augustin. S. S. interpres. Hann. 1827.

2 See on this Reland, Palestina p. 467, sqq.

3 See *e. gr.* the decisions of the Council of Sirmium (against Photinus, in the year 357) ap. Harduin, coll. concil. I., p. 702, sq.

4 Comp. Ernesti, comm. de Proc. G. commentariis Graec. in Heptateuchum et Cant. ineditis. Lips. 1785. Rosenmüller, l. cit. IV., p. 234, sq.

5 See on the Catenae Fabricius, bibl. Gr. VII., p. 727, sqq. The best known of these

later scholastic age, was that only special theological opinions on speculations were outwardly appended to Scripture, without even an attempt at exegetical elucidation.

In the middle ages only a few, as Raymund Martini, were acquainted with Hebrew, and of these only one or two, especially Nicolaus de Lyra, did anything for Scripture interpretation. The Postills of the last named writer, which were enlarged, and in many places corrected by Paulus Burgensis, had for their object to bring out the literal meaning of the text, and they frequently communicate rabbinical remarks. He exerted an undoubted influence on the exegesis of the Reformers.[1] As a condensation and summary of the current interpretations the Glossaries, particularly the Glossa ordinaria of Walafried Strabus (died 849), and the Glossa interlinearis of Anselmus Laudenensis of the 12th century, are worthy of notice. The Commentary of Rabanus Maurus demands especial notice; it extends over the whole Old Testament, and contains, besides interpretations suited to the spirit of the age, historical and antiquarian observations (from Josephus, Jerome, &c.); it makes much use also of earlier interpreters.

§ 94. INTERPRETATIONS OF THE RABBINS.

From the period when learned grammatical studies had commenced among the Rabbins, there arose also during the 12th century a style of interpretation specially deserving notice here, in which the grammatico-historical method was allowed to mingle with what principally accorded with the earlier exegetical tradition. Of interest is the defence by Abenezra of the principles of this style, on the one hand against the simply speculative and dogmatical tendency which repudiated exegesis properly so called, and satisfied itself with allegory, and on the other hand against the Karaitic method, in which the exegetical tradition was opposed.[2] Abenezra is himself one of the most independent, profound, and learned of

are the Catena on the Octateuch and the Books of Kings, published at Leipsic in 1772, 2 vols. foll; the Cat. of Nicetas on Job, Lond. 1637; that on the Psalms by Corderius, Antw. 1643, 3 vols.; that on the Song of Solomon by Meursius, Lugd. Bat. 1617, &c.

[1] Comp. Buddeus, l. c. p. 1430, sq.

[2] See R. Simon, Hist. Crit. V. T. l. III. c. 6.

these Rabbins, whilst Jarchi attaches himself chiefly to what is traditional, and comments after the manner of the Talmud. In these, as in almost all the Jewish commentators, there is much that is keenly polemic against Christianity.[1] Other prized Rabbinical commentaries are those of David Kimchi,[2] in which philological explanations are combined with the citation of many opinions, and the discussion of controverted points in theology; so that they are very copious.[3] Maimonides has set forth some useful hermeneutical rules in his well-known work Moreh Nebochim (ed. Buxtorf, fil. Basil, 1629, in Latin.) After him Tanchuma of Jerusalem wrote commentaries in Arabic on the Old Testament, which are deposited in the Bodleian library at Oxford,[4] and are of great value, especially in a grammatical and lexicographical respect. Levi Ben Gerson (died 1370) wrote commentaries on the greater part of the books of the Old Testament, which are in Buxtorf's rabbinical Bible.[5] Isaac Abarbanel (died 1508), is a very prolix commentator, full of controversial questions, which he propounds and solves in a scholastic manner; his commentaries have been printed separately.[6] Salomo Ben Melech of the 16th century, in his Michlal Josephi (Constantin., 1685), follows for the most part Kimchi, but restricts himself principally to philological observations, in which however there is much that is useful.[7] Moses Alshech, at the end of the 16th century, wrote a commentary on the whole Old Testament (see Buxtorf, Bibl. Rabb., p. 400) of which some portions have been printed separately. On account of the obscure philosophical style of writing of many of these Rabbins, the more famous of them have in turn been supplied with explanations (Biurim).[8]

1 Comp. Gesenius, Comment. z. Jes. I. 119, ff.

2 Buxtorf has given in his Rabbin. Bib. the comments of the three Rabbins named. Jarchi has been edited in a Latin translation by Breithaupt. Goth. 1710, sq. 3 voll.

3 Comp. Gesenius, l. c. 123, ff.

4 Comp. Uri, Catal. Bibl. Bodlej. p. 16. Pococke edited specimens of these in several of his writings: also Schnurrer, Spec. Tarchum. hieros. Tüb. 1791; Gesenius in his Comment. z. Jes. and Thes. l. Hebr.; Rödiger, de Arab. Libr. V. T. Histor. interpr.

5 For censures on him as frequently representing the historical as a vision on prophetical representation, see Bartolocci, Bib. Rabb. III. 661, IV. 6.

6 See Wolf, Bibl. Hebr. I. 627, III. 540, IV. 875; Köcher, Nova Bibl. Heb. I. 72.

7 The Commentary on Jonas, with a Latin translation by Fabricius, Gott., 1792.

8 Comp. Hottinger, Bibl. Orient., p. 6, sq.

§ 95. MODERN EXEGESIS.

The separation of Romanism and Protestantism introduced two different kinds of exegesis; for whilst, on the one hand, the Council of Trent declared, "ecclesiae est judicare de vero sensu et interpretatione sacrarum scripturarum" (sess. IV. decr. 3.); the evangelical theologians, on the other hand, maintained the right of interpreting Scripture by themselves, by the aid of the Holy Ghost, and in pursuance of this, laboured to settle sound hermeneutic rules. Among the Catholic interpreters, as a consequence, the method of interpretation already predominant in the Church was retained, according to which Scripture was explained in various senses, and the Catholic dogmatical theology, particularly controverted doctrinal points, continually introduced. The majority of the commentators of this Church, consequently, labour under an unprofitable mass of allegorical, moral, and such like explanations, which for the proper understanding of Scripture are useless, as the works of Cornelius a Lapide, Tirinus, and others, sufficiently show. Only a very few, such as Vatablus, form an illustrious exception to this charge.

Among the Reformers, on the contrary, new life was communicated to Scripture interpretations, and the comprehensive understanding of it, including that of the Old Testament, was greatly forwarded. The practical vital interest in the divine word which lay at the basis, and formed the hinge of the work of church reformation, led to the unfolding of this in all its fulness, truth, and glory, and in all its relations. Whilst, on the one hand, the practical understanding of Scripture received so mighty an impulse from Luther's translation of the Bible, evangelical theology, on the other, vindicated for itself that title by, in the first instance, basing the explanation of Scripture on right principles, and then building a dogmatical superstructure on the foundation of a sound exegesis. Among the Exegetes of the Reformation, Calvin stands unquestionably first, and for the Old Testament his commentaries constitute an epoch. Bringing to his task well-grounded, and, for his age, massive learning, he especially furthered the historical and psychological element of interpretation, and with great penetration united therewith the dogmatical development. The most successful

of his commentaries are those on the Pentateuch and the Psalms, which books especially harmonise with the idiosyncracy of the great Reformer.[1] On the track of Calvin the reformed church followed with brilliant results. The Old Testament was translated and annotated by Junius and Piscator; Oecolampadius, Pellicanus, Seb. Münster, Drusius, and others, distinguished themselves as a body by philological and Rabbinical lore. With all of them there is a close combination of dogmatics with exegesis, yet in such a way as that the latter does not suffer, but has preserved to it its independent scientific character. To the Lutheran Church belong, in this department, chiefly Brentius, Melancthon, Fagius, Osiander, &c. For these and other commentaries may be consulted the collections of Marlorat in the Expositio Cathol. Ecclesiastica, the Critici Sacri (Lond. 1660, 9 voll.; Amstelod. 1698, 9 voll., Francofurti, 1696, 7 voll.; and two supplementary voll. 1700, 1701), and Poole's Synopsis Criticorum aliorumque s. s. interpretum.

A new and diversified impulse has been communicated to the Exegesis of the Old Testament since the seventeenth century. The enlarged knowledge of languages, and the cultivation of auxiliary real sciences, furthered the scientific development, whilst the more refined taste of the age promoted the elegance of interpretation. Men like Grotius and Clericus explained the Old Testament in part very felicitously from the side of profane classical literature; de Dieu, Pfeiffer, Pococke, and at a later period the school of Schultens from the side of Oriental philology; whilst the antiquarian department found in a Bochart, a Reland, a Braun, and others, singularly able contributors. Whilst thus in the reformed church the outer side of Exegesis was chiefly cultivated, there was still a want in respect of dogmatic clearness and definiteness in the majority of these interpreters which is to their disadvantage.[2] A union, so much the more worthy of notice, of both qualities appears on the other hand in the Cocceians, wherever their hermeneutical principle that of pressing the typico-allegorical explanation, is decidedly kept out of view, as especially in the

[1] See Calvin as an interpreter in Tholuck's Lit. Anzig. 1831, Nr. 41, ff.

[2] Thus in the case of Grotius and Clericus, of the former of whom Ernesti most truly says: in sententiis indulget opinionibus suis et saepe a veritate aberrat. Instit. int. N. T., p. 173.

instance of Camp. Vituinga. Marck, Seb. Schmidt, J. H. and Ch. B. Michaelis are also, as instances of exegetes free from the peculiar errors of their times, and knowing most distinctly and firmly exercising the vocation of an interpreter, entitled to distinction. Among the Lutherans, on the other hand, the exegesis of the Old Testament was sadly neglected, and exegesis degenerated into a collection of dogmatical common places, though here it must be acknowledged that a copious apologetical element is contained. The peculiarity of the Lutheran exegesis during the age of stringent orthodoxy appears most characteristically in the Commentaries of Calov, who chiefly replies to Grotius, Geier, Tarnow, &c.

Since the Old Testament was exposed to the cavils especially of Deism and Rationalism, its interpretation during the earlier period of unbelief can be regarded only as having retrograded. A product of this period, and deserving to be mentioned only on account of its compass, is Schulz's Scholia in V. T., continued by Bauer (10 voll.), with which in superficiality and baselessness the "Exegetische Handbuch des A. T." (9 parts.) competes. As opposed to such works, Nelson's "Antideistische Bibel," the English Bible-Commentary (translated by R. Teller, Baumgarten, Dietelmaier, and Brucker,) deserve to be duly acknowledged. The translation of the Bible, with annotations for the unlearned by J. D. Michaelis, contains much that in an apologetic respect is of importance, and the same may be said of the Brentano-Dereserian work on the Bible, though here the exegetical element is sadly deficient. Among more recent translations the Latin one of Dathe and the German one of De Wette deserve especial respect. Utterly useless is the work of Schulz and Bauer already mentioned. As a collection of exegetical materials, the scholia of Rosenmüller are valuable, though the author's own views are often unsettled, and there is throughout very little independent thinking. The grammatical exegesis is principally kept in view in the recently published Commentary on the Old Testament by Maurer.

CHAPTER FIFTH.

PRINCIPLES OF TEXTUAL CRITICISM OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

§ 96. IDEA OF THIS.

Whilst antiquity in determining the idea of criticism, and of the vocation of the critic allowed the subjective, the aesthetic preference to predominate,[1] in more recent times it is the objective import of criticism which, through our altered position in reference to the monuments of antiquity, has been more clearly developed. In the general, criticism in its bearing on the Canon, is the determination of what originally belonged to the Canon or not, and of all that which, according to its original destination, has a fundamental want of right to be treated as canonical or not.

In the general the history of the Canon shows its rise, its close, and the reception accorded to it. There also are to be found the general facts on which as a basis the history of the text advances. Now since the special introduction will discuss the further history of the Canon in the case of each book, what fall to be considered here are the facts ascertained of the history of the text. The business of criticism is to place in combination the present extant text with these facts, and in full cognizance of the historical point of transition of the text, to give judgment thereon accordingly.

To this end the aid of interpretation must be called in, inas-

1 Criticorum munus erat auctoritatem et γνησιότητα veterum scriptorum exquirere et sua cuique vindicare, maxime vero virtutes illorum et vitia percensere, ut discerent auditores, quid in iis imitandum, quid veris scribendi legibus contrarium esset. Wolf, prolegg. ad Homer. p. 234.

much as it has a critical as well as an exegetical side, the importance of which is increased or diminished according to the different standpoints of the interpreters, that is as they approach more or less in respect of age or character to the original source of the text. The first thing, then, to be treated of in respect to the constitution of the text, as a matter of fact, is the position and conception of it in reference to the *historical aids* of criticism; and to this is appended the question what procedure is to be adopted where these do not suffice; after which comes the decision upon the text, according to the variety of its constituent parts, inasmuch as the question must be here considered in how much and how far the idea of the purity or corruption of the text is to be extended and apprehended. The former of these embraces the critical process; the latter the critical result.

§ 97. CRITICAL PROCESS IN REFERENCE TO THE HISTORICAL WITNESSES.

In the critical adjudication of the text we are first directed to the Masoretic text, since its vouchers, the Masoretic work itself, and the MSS., as well as the earliest editions made from them, are to be found there. In this we possess the traditional Jewish text, and we must separate from this what on the one hand has been otherwise through arbitrary alteration introduced into the MSS., and on the other hand what the Masoretes have inserted through the traditional element, in accordance with their overruling principles on that point. The more the codices collectively lead up to the common source, the less is account to be taken of the number of codices in reference to their variation from the textus receptus, unless it can be shown that it points to an older historical authority.

With the Masoretic text must be combined the pre-Masoretic, as this is found on the one hand in the pre-Masoretic labours of the Talmudists, and on the other in the older versions. Here, above all, attention must be paid to the special peculiarity of the representatives of this text, in using and adducing it, and thereby to discover whether this or that reading actually formed an ingredient in a pre-Masoretic text.

Beyond this pre-Masoretic text our knowledge of the text does not extend; for the parallel passages of the Old Testament cannot be taken as historical witnesses in the strict sense of the word.

The various readings obtained in this historico-critical manner, require, as to their internal contents, a criticism in a twofold point of view, inasmuch as the original of a variant reading may be discovered either by its bearing on those concurring with it (the *historico*-critical method), where the rule holds that the reading which accounts for the rise of all the rest is the original one;[1] or by an *exegetico*-critical method, in which Hermeneutics come to the aid of criticism.[2] In this latter case, however, the relation of exegesis to criticism must not be determined by assuming the hermeneutical rules a priori, and then exercising criticism accordingly, since the converse process, by which the reading fixed by criticism is made to condition exegesis, is much the surer. The truth, however, is here not on one side, but the right course is the mutual comparison of the historical substratum with the general exegetical principles. So in a linguistic respect anomalies are not simply to be rejected critically as contrary to the laws of the language, but as they are entitled, if they can, to sustain their historical foundation, so in case of their doing so they must be viewed as unusual anomalies, and must be brought into comparison with the general laws of the language.[3] Still less are the rhetorical laws of discourse to be reduced to a strictly schematic form, for here the freedom of subjectivity is still more unrestrained.[4]

Since on the whole we have for the Old Testament, though the original transcripts are not extant, a permanent and very faithful tradition, the whole peculiarity of it is very definitely in our view, —the field of critical conjecture is a very slippery one,—and what has already been realised on the result of conjectural criticism is by much too insecure to be allowed to enter the text.

1 De Wette, Einl. § 122.

2 De Wette, § 118, ff.

3 An extreme specimen of the arbitrary settling of the text upon (not fitly founded) linguistic principles is furnished by Hitzig in his Begriff der Kritik, his Comment. z. Jesaias, and his Uebersetz. der Pss., although this procedure, with all its one-sidedness, is very much fitted to conduct nearer to the truth.

4 Thus *e. gr.* the passages corrected by Olshausen (Emendatt. z. A. T., especially s. 14, &c.) are the result of a one-sided construction of the parallelisms.

§ 98. CRITICISM AS RESPECTS ITS OBJECTS.

The general result of textual criticism is that our old Testament text is, through the care of the Jewish critics, in a very sound state even in its smallest parts. Hence criticism has not only now to survey the historical aids, but also again to sustain the history of individual elements of the text according to their diplomatic formation and character.

The critic must thus have respect, in the first instance, to the double alphabet, the Old Hebrew and the square character, and likewise he must determine the relation of the consonantal and vowel criticism. In respect of the former, the possibility of a corruption of the consonants through the alteration of the alphabet, and even at a later period through the negligence of transcribers,[1] must be allowed. But this is balanced by the fact that in the writing of this alphabet an especially anxious care was exercised, and the alteration of the alphabet happened at a time when, from the relations of the age, a corruption of the consonants cannot readily be anticipated. If accordingly on the one hand there are passages, such as 1 Sam. xvii. 34, where זה stands for שה, on the other the reading בן for בג (Ezek. xxv. 7) is not at all to be received, and this is to be followed as a critical principle in almost all passages which recent critics have adduced as specimens of consonantal corruption.[2]—On the contrary, in reference to vowel criticism, the more correct course has been adopted by those who refer this department to exegesis as belonging to the *understanding* of Scripture, and cease to treat this element of writing as a dead material to be separated from the properly vital one, or to be placed in conjunction with it at pleasure.[3]

Closely connected with letter criticism is that of *words*, since the latter is identical with the former in concreto, and presupposes it as a basis. Here in the first instance respect must be had to the correct division of the words, where, however, it must not be forgotten

[1] Eichhorn admits similar cases as possible, Einl. I. 96, ff.

[2] Hitzig, Begr. d. Krit., s. 124, ff. Comp. herewith Olshausen's principle, l. c., s. 9, that the number of errors in reference to consonants is the larger.

[3] The vowel criticism is principally in its place when it discusses the pre-Masoretic reading in the Keri and Ketib, as *e. gr.* 2 Sam. xxiii. 21, אשר מראה, where nevertheless Hitzig's explanation (s. 122) is not quite suitable.

how closely this is connected with the square character. Hence also in this respect the later criticism has shown itself much too hypercritical.[1] The corrections coming under this head resting on the exchange of one word for another, and mistaken intrusion or rejection of a foreign, or the true form &c., are, however, to be so much the more restricted, since here there is an effort to exert an influence one-sided, philological, and severed from historical enquiry.[2]

So also with the criticism of *clauses*, where not only must the division according to the Masoretic accentuation be assumed as acknowledged on its merits, but also respect must be had to its character which does not always determine the sense, and hence to its proper critical estimation. The dividing of verses and clauses, however, is to be viewed from this side also by no means as in the state of confusion in which, from a passion for correcting, some have recently insisted on regarding it.—Of more weight are the clauses which it has been proposed to view as glosses in the Old Testament, a circumstance which has linked the higher with the lower criticism, as of late some have connected with the assumption of a text interwoven with such glosses, the non-authenticity of large portions of the Old Testament Canon.[3] What has been adduced in support of this is in part incorrect, as for instance the alleged interpolations in the text of Isaiah, with which in a very uncritical fashion has been collocated the procedure of the Samaritans, &c., which explains *nothing;* in part it requires a positive elucidation and closer determination, as in the case of much in the historical books, which then will permit us to pronounce a definite judgment according to its character and tendency on the interpolation. What has recently been claimed in support of this, that in the case of the glosses only a negative criticism needs to be exercised,[4] contains the ground of the very obvious illusion attendant on this procedure, in virtue of which there is a total ignoring of the significant questions *wherefore, how,* and *by whom* it may be supposed that such additions were introduced; and it is self-evident how broadly the

[1] Comp. Hitzig l. c., s. 133, ff.

[2] Thus 2 Sam. xiii. 38 is not to be emended into וַיִּתְכֹּל לְדָוִיד, but this construction is here a free one, since the דויד is appended to what follows, as in Prov. xxvii. 7.

[3] Hitzig z. Jes. s. XXXVI. Comp. Gesenius, z. Jes. Einl. § 8.

[4] Comp. Hitzig, Begr. d. Kritik, s. 116, 152, ff.

period before and that subsequent to the closing of the Canon must in such a case be discriminated. Hence we demand for the entire province of textual criticism as much a positive as a negative process.

§ 99. ESTIMATE OF CERTAIN OTHER CRITICAL SYSTEMS.

A leading departure from the truth in criticism lies in a one-sided over-valuing of particular historical aids, instead of placing them in their just relation to the whole; as is exemplified in the opinion of Js. Vossius on the Alexandrian Recension already noticed. Analogous to this was the earlier controversy respecting the worth of the Samaritan text. Such a process, nevertheless, has had the effect of leading to a more faithful investigation of the parallel aids of criticism, and thereby to supply to the historical substratum a more befitting comprehensiveness.

Not less self-avenging has been the one-sided tendency which it has been attempted to give to criticism by introducing arbitrary distinctions into the text (as consonant-vowels), such as we find in Capell and his adherents, and by which the symmetrical critical constitution and estimation of the text was neglected. This, however, has contributed to the more thorough comprehension of the text in its historical formation, and consequently to its not being set forth arbitrarily, but observed critically, according to its whole tenor.

Opposed to the one-sided historical process stands the subjective-a priori, which, since the time of Houbigant, has especially had vogue, and of which the necessary consequence is an arbitrary rage for hypothesis. Following this, there is, in point of practice, a casting aside at least of all the historical limits of criticism, and a construction of the text in the manner in which it may be supposed the author *could* have written, without reflecting that here, in the region of possibilities, no boundaries can be fixed beyond which it shall not be possible to fancy or to find some other thing. Where it is thus attempted to place the office of the critic under a wholly subjective influence, the effect will be only to call forth more powerfully the opposite tendency, and to render the objective part of criticism more sure.

Accordingly there was justice in what the old Protestant critical

school (Buxtorf, Carpzov, Hottinger, &c.) affirmed when they spoke of the results of criticism in opposition to the false tendencies just noticed. Only they fell into an error as to the manner in which these results are reached, since they, partially entering into the matter, and allowing themselves to be drawn aside by the opposite process, urged a particular historical fact through the one-sided conception of the controverted question too far, and did not apprehend it in all its different references (as *e. gr.* the vowel-controversy.) The positive element of criticism, however, was thereby advanced and fortified, and could therefore only tend to a better and ever new development of the negative criticism.

CHAPTER SIXTH.

PRINCIPLES OF OLD TESTAMENT HERMENEUTICS.[1]

§ 100. PRELIMINARY.

Old Testament special hermeneutics assume the existence both of a general hermeneutic, and of one specially biblical. Not only the former, as the science which develops the general concepts of the understanding, but also the latter, whose special business it is to set forth these concepts in relation to the Bible Canon, lies at the foundation here. The peculiarity of the work of interpretation is thus conditioned by the peculiarity of the object, and the view of the interpreter in reference to it, operates essentially on his interpretation; on which account the interpreter of the Canon can alone recognize and fulfil his vocation, when the true doctrine of the Canon has taken possession of his soul. Hence, biblical hermeneutics has as a necessary dogmatical basis, the tenet of the inspiration of the Holy Scriptures.

From this arises the twofold aspect of the hermeneutics of the Canon; on the one hand, as it is the work of the Holy Spirit; and on the other, as it is truth presented in human form and language; and hence a twofold office falls upon the interpreter, to reproduce subjectively the objective fact, so that, on the one hand, through this living reproduction there shall be a response to the Divine Spirit in the soul of the interpreter; and, on the other, by means

[1] Comp. Meyer, Hermeneutik des A. T. 1799, 1800, 2 Parts.—Pareau, Institutio interpretis V. T., especially p. 179, sqq.

of a knowledge of the instruments whereby the Holy Ghost manifests himself, the human language of the Canon and its historical rise and reference, a true interpretation shall be brought forth; on the other hand, the observation is also to be kept closely in view, that all departures from the true stand-point of interpretation proceed from a false or one-sided, and narrow conception of the twofold, but in concrete inseparably connected, office of Hermeneutics. From the comprehensive conception of this science, it arises that we have to do first as respects the Old Testament with its human-general side; but after that also with its spiritual divine contents, and it is only when the former of these is pursued in vital union with the latter, that a proper *theological* Heremeneutic of the Old Testament is attained.

§ 101. PHILOLOGICAL UNDERSTANDING OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

This conceives the formal in the Old Testament Canon, the peculiar expression of the thoughts of the sacred writers, on the side of its consonance with human modes of speech viewed generally. The peculiar difficulty of Hebrew philology arises from the fact, that the language itself is a dead one; so that we must treat of the aids which shall put in possession of this. These, according to their nature, are either traditional or purely philological.

On the traditional side Philology is the knowledge of the preservation of the Hebrew language in general and in particular, the manner in which the language was as a dead language propagated, partly through its learned cultivation as among the Rabbins, partly through the interpretations of the Old Testament, where naturally respect must be had to the original earlier tradition, as in the translations, and to the peculiarity of their mode of construction, in order to determine the worth of the tradition.

The inner side of the philological understanding is the purely philological investigation, which adheres to the former as its vital principle. The authority of tradition must sustain itself by general logical laws of philology, and specially by the historically exhibited character of the Hebrew Chaldaic idiom of the Old Testament. This idiom, however, must be viewed partly in itself, and construed from its inner peculiarity, partly also must be

apprehended in its relation to the allied dialects. The non-acknowledgment and the removal of the connection in the study of the Hebrew philology have given rise to the different systems of learned treatment, and partially also of one-sided exegetical application; on which account it is only when the exegete exercises a proportionate and harmoniously directed regard upon these various sides of linguistic science that his work is profitable. It is only, again, from this stand-point comprehending the whole essence of Hebrew philology that a right method of observing what is peculiar to each writer of Old Testament Scripture is possible.

§ 102. HISTORICAL UNDERSTANDING OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

Every literary production stands connected with its age, inasmuch as it has arisen under the living influence of this, and so forms an historical element thereof. Hence this side of the historical connection of a writing with its age and the relations of its age forms the second object of the exegete, which is distinguished from the former by its reference to the material of a writing. In the case of the Old Testament there is a double side to the historical understanding, as that is required to apprehend the writings composing it in their relation to the East generally, and to the Hebrew people specially. This constitutes the archaelogical element in interpretation which, when its results are collocated as a distinct discipline, becomes Archaeology in the wider sense.

It is certain that the writings of the Old Testament in many respects find their full scientific explanation only through a respect to what peculiarly belongs to the East (and our age is happy in possessing a rich collection of materials for the understanding of what is oriental); but the general knowledge here will not suffice for the apprehension of what is specially Hebrew, for which again the Old Testament is itself the principal source. The one-sidedness of the historical understanding consists in seeking always to refer the special to something general, or conversely denying the general in its application to the special.[1]

1 As *e. gr.* was at least partially the case in the controversy between Spencer and Witsius on the Mosaic legislation.

§ 103. THE THEOLOGICAL UNDERSTANDING OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

The proper theological understanding of the Old Testament is the penetrating into the spirit or peculiar religious element of the book. From the idea of the Canon flows the necessary assumption that all the portions composing it are bound together by a common principle into one whole, and this is the religious element peculiar to Hebraism, which runs through it like a thread from beginning to end of the Divine revelation. This must be disclosed to the interpreter, before his explanation can be pervaded by the living breath of the Old Testament writings in their truth, depth, and fulness.

The grammatical and historical understanding of the Old Testament can only help to conceive the outer formal or material sphere of it; and the necessity of it is clear from this, inasmuch as the Old Testament writings must cease to be treated as historical phenomena, in case its application were brought into doubt. If, further, the outer historical appearance of these be apprehended, as in point of fact one with their higher and Divine origin, there is surrendered the union practically so much to be desired by the interpreter of the spiritual in the outward with its internal impenetration.

Only thus, in the first instance, can the place of the grammatico-historical interpretation itself be rightly conceived; its inadequacy will be especially apparent with such passages as present no difficulties as respects their application, but the theological understanding of which occasions the greatest labour. Thus also will the theological apprehension vindicate its proper rights to the grammatico-historical, since otherwise it remains a mere outward accedens.[1]

The theological understanding of the Old Testament conceives the writers in their mutual relation to each other, in their inner connection, and at the same time in their peculiar diversity. Since the Old Testament presents its religious ideas not as mysteries, not as something yet to be revealed, but throughout in a practical

1 There can thus be no *historical* apprehension of the Old Testament either in particular or whole, unless the history be treated from the *theological* stand-point. This, however, is just the theological apprehension.

bearing, as they come into manifestation as facts, the theological apprehension discovers even here the actual thus coming concretly into view, and the therein contained dogmatic or ethic element as the one common element amid the manifoldness of the facts.

The theological understanding, however, conceives the entire Old Testament stand-point according to its collective appearance, in relation to that of the New Testament, as that of the preparation to that of the fulfilment. Thus the interpretation of the Old Testament always shapes itself as a coming back to the facts of revelation, in which stands its inner oneness with the New Testament;[1] but at the same time as a demonstration of the non-identity of the two Testaments; and thus whilst certainly on the one hand walking in the light of the New Testament, the interpreter penetrates to the kernel of the Old, and there recognizes the same living God in the evidences of his truthfulness and grace, who in the other has become man, so on the other hand he thereby comes to apprehend the facts of the Old Testament in relation to the one centre point of revelation in Christ, and thus the mediate in its reference to the immediate.

§104. REFUTATION OF SOME OTHER MODES OF INTERPRETATION IN THEIR APPLICATION TO THE OLD TESTAMENT.

The more that an interest in the Old Testament as a part of the Scripture Canon stimulates to an endeavour to find its true meaning, so much the greater does the diversity of interpretation become. But this diversity is on the whole to be referred to the two sides which constitute the essence of the revelation, and which have been considered, one apart from the other, and then variously modified. In respect of these modifications there are for our age two principal tendencies to be considered.

In the one of these the grammatico-historical interpretation of the Old Testament is so regarded that it is esteemed sufficient for all purposes of explanation. In this case, the purely outward side, the human side of the Old Testament comes alone into consideration, and this it is which, in part, it has been sought to place in a bad light on account of its little significancy, for the mere outer

[1] See Nitzsch System of Christian Doctrine, Edinb., T. and T. Clark, § 30.

side of the Old Testament as the mere political history of the people of the covenant, is certainly a very profitless affair, but in part also has been treated more objectively as a fact purely existing for itself and without significance. The rationalistic exegesis has extended no further than to this apprehension of the shell of the Old Testament, and since it had nothing to say of the kernel, the entire contents of the Old Testament under its hands came to a mere aggregate of external facts, for whose higher significance no one cared, since they were satisfied with the application of the philological and outer historical research. The principle that the Old Testament must be treated like any other work of an oriental writer has, it is true, led to the more correct apprehension of the general side of its historical development, but on the other hand this has become the more inconceivable and puzzling, the less a true theological meaning has been carried along with it for what is peculiarly Hebrew. Nay, by this course, even the Old Testament philology and history themselves were rendered partially untrue, because it was one-sided, and because it reduced the living word to an arid abstraction, evacuated of its contents, and its living spirit misapprehended.

No less unsound, however, is the variously modified apprehension of the Old Testament according to its purely ideal reference. This is indeed as to its general grounds nothing else than the giving up of the historical phenomenon of the Canon, and there comes in here only the, in itself certainly very weighty but, viewed as a hermeneutical principle, unimportant difference, whether the ideal contents of the Old Testament shall be apprehended in its collective accordance with revelation generally, or from the stand-point of a more subjective (philosophical) system. This method of interpretation in the wider meaning of the word, comprehends under it the *allegorical*, and has in it only this of truth, that it proposes to conceive the contents of Scripture as an eternal spiritual idea, but this is arbitrarily determined, and not so as in point of fact it comes into manifestation. Hence against this process it is not so much to be objected that a difference of meaning is produced by it from what the author intended (for this the profounder among the advocates of this interpretation[1] will never admit) but chiefly that

1 Comp. *e gr.* Dr Olshausen, Ueber tieferen Schriftsinn.

it misapprehends the canonical word as a purely human phenomenon; hence here also the most subtile theory of a ὑπόνοια of the sacred writers finds its sharpest confutation, inasmuch as the Divine Spirit can come into manifestation in the Scripture Canon only in the same way as human thought does in human words; if indeed the fundamental concept of the Canon and its significance as God's word be not given up in the Church of the Lord.

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